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EDITORIAL

We are Grateful

In our inaugural issue we promised to publish a case study entitled *Land Ownership Patterns and Acquisition in Ghana: A Case Study of Opportunities for the Settlement of African Agricultural Mobile Labour*.

In the course of our research in that respect we have come to the realization that the land question in Africa is better appreciated within the process of *state formation* since the pre-colonial era and its associated class struggles.

This appreciation also dawned on us in a parallel effort to research the historical development of the thought and practice of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah where we realized that it also has to be placed within the same process of *state formation*.

This has necessitated a combination of the two researches. In that event, rather than a relatively limited paper we are compelled to work out a comprehensive book to enable a deeper appreciation of Africa's total historical experience.

We publish here the manuscript at its present stage of development. We provide no guarantee that a manuscript in this form shall not be subject to revision. Only the completed project shall be deemed as such. Nevertheless, principles underlying it, as expressed in the Foreword and Preface, are in their final completeness and can be critically assessed.

In the light of our desire to avoid restraining influences we try hard not to rely on sponsors but on the seasonal income from our own productive efforts in our oil palm and mango plantations. The resultant delay and hardship need no telling.

We hereby express gratitude to Comrades Kwesi Pratt Jnr and Musah Numoh for financial assistance in acquiring some books (to be given back to the Freedom Centre Library) and making photocopies, respectively; as well as Isaac Dadzie and Razak Issah who play the role of virtual research assistants searching the internet for any relevant materials.

Special thanks to Comrade Kwasi Adu who encourages us to see our effort as a project in the interest of the entire Left's understanding of Africa's historical

Liberty Ayivi Memorial Mango Plantation (LAMMP)

Fogah Tsatsu Tsikata Abandons Class Analysis for God-Centred Analysis

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LET'S REMAIN FOCUSED, DETERMINED AND BOLD!

Ideological Determinations

TSATSU TSIKATA ABANDONS CLASS ANALYSIS FOR GOD-CENTRED ANALYSIS

(An Analytical Comment on a Citi FM Interview with Tsatsu Tsikata)

By
Lang T.K.A. Nubuor

Tsatsu Tsikata

Certainly, it is unfair to project Tsatsu Tsikata as 'some kind of mysterious-behind-the-scene mind that was driving this and that' during the PNDC administration, as he puts it. This does not, all the same, dissolve the perceptive mystery surrounding his immersion in that administration. This promises to worsen in the future since he has no intention of writing an *autobiography* though he tells us about 'writing a book which I think I'm, you know, beginning to work on' and which will be his reflection on *national resources*.[1]

That is to say that the *nature* of Tsatsu Tsikata's involvement in the PNDC's administration remains a mystery, remains in the realm of speculation, for as long as he does not write his autobiography or some paper to dissolve that difficulty. For, he does not hold any known political office at any level of PNDC governance while he acknowledges that he accompanies Flt-Lt. J. J. Rawlings on foreign missions 'to the extent that he thought I could be of help or value or in any context where representing the nation and so on.'

This latter reference might suggest that he operates *exclusively* in areas of foreign engagement. But that would not be historically quite correct. For, Tsatsu Tsikata is believed to be the author of Rawlings' January 5 1982 first

[1][1] Citi FM interview with Tsatsu Tsikata on December 16 2015. Excerpts are found in an appendix to the present write-up. Due to the pressure of time we could not transcribe the entire radio interview. For this reason, it is not all references that can be found in the appendix. We advise the reader to listen to the interview online.

national broadcast speech script in which major policy directions are outlined. Among such policies is Rawlings' precipitous call 'for local Defence Committees at all levels of our national life – in the towns, in the villages, in all our factories, offices and workplaces and in the barracks'.[2]

Even in this regard the impression needs not be created that Tsatsu Tsikata is Rawlings' *permanent* speech writer. For, a close examination of Rawlings' published collected speeches indicates a plethora of different writers who exhibit different styles of writing. We remember the anxiety of progressive forces when on June 29 1982 Rawlings faces the GBC cameras with two *contrasting* speeches respectively written by Mr. B. B. D. Asamoah and Dr. Emmanuel Hansen. Finally, he reads the latter's *No Turning Back*.[3]

Tsatsu Tsikata is definitely not 'some kind of mysterious-behind-the-scene mind that was driving this and that'. He correctly alludes to such stories as a 'mythology'.[4] We would say 'an overstatement or exaggeration of reality'. For, he *plays* his this-yet undefined role in the PNDC administration but without a *decisive* influence on the main actor, Flt-Lt. Rawlings. Intelligent as he turns out to be in the circumstances of the times, he knows that the best way to survive a relationship with Rawlings is not to try to unduly influence him.

This is where we might tend to cautiously believe him when he says that 'I think people have to recognize that President Rawlings had a mind of his own and was very clear about his own agenda for the country and in the country.' We say 'cautiously' because though Rawlings has a mind of his own he is at the time not very clear about *any* agenda that he does not have. That Rawlings is then motivated to overthrow Dr. Hilla Limann due to the latter's irresponsible threats on his life is beyond doubt for us.

In this regard, it should be firmly stated that at a meeting, prior to the December 31 coup d'état at a progressive lecturer's office at the Sociology Department of the University of Ghana, to map out the way forward for progressive forces Rawlings' pre-occupation is with the *rapid* dislodgement of the Limann administration. He turns out

[2] Kojo Yankah, *The Trial of J. J. Rawlings*, Ghana Publishing Corporation, 1986, with a foreword by Prof. F. A. Botchway, p.87

[3] This powerful speech re-galvanizes progressive forces at the time when spirits run down and desperation sets in.

[4] See the attached Appendix.

impatient with suggestions for organized mass insurrection or building a new political party to contest elections. At a point he recaps ‘such delays’ which decided him to undertake May 15.

In other words, Flt-Lt. Rawlings is at the time *primarily* concerned with his personal security and has concluded that the best way to achieve that is not to take advantage of the suspicious Limann scholarships to members of the former AFRC to study abroad but to stay on in the country to rather overthrow that conscienceless administration. While the latter tortures Capt. Kojo Tsikata with a foot-to-foot surveillance, traps are set in military quarters to kill Rawlings in orchestrated accidents. He gets timely updates.

Apart from such show of unconcern with agenda, Rawlings, in our private discussions with him at his house, often exhibits lack of concentration on matters pertaining to theoretical elucidations for policy formulation. He feels belittled in such encounters. Such an empty *konko* he then is that it is totally incorrect to attribute to him any development agenda of his own. He just does not have any. This reflects in the *voluntarism* of the PNDC whereby activists are asked to do what *they* deem appropriate. No direction from above.

It is from this perspective that we contend in acquiescence that Tsatsu Tsikata, within the PNDC period, occupies no space as may enable him to exercise any ‘kind of mysterious-behind-the-scene mind that was driving this and that’. Nobody does that. And this is even more impossible as Rawlings pathologically affects a severe attitude towards the academicians in Tsikata’s group, NDM, which in turn arrogantly establishes a distance from him only to express their ‘critical support’ to him when *full* involvement is required.

This is illustrated by the fact that the NDM is never invited to any meeting, such as the one referred to above, and that when yours truly once lands into an altercation with the NDM over Kwame Karikari’s ill reporting of the June 4 1981 JFM rally in Koforidua and Rawlings is asked to intervene to save Karikari he reads our rejoinder to that report and remarks that yours truly ‘has shown them. They think they are

intelligent.'[5] And though we respond to Rawlings' invitation he does not raise the issue at all.

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It is interesting that when Tsatsu Tsikata is asked about the lack of 'people with a strong ideology' in the current NDC administration, as compared with the PNDC period that spots persons like PNDC government officials such as Dr. Kwesi Botchway and Ato Ahwoi with 'a clear mind on the kind of world they want to see', he states promptly that 'I don't think that the PNDC was necessarily driven by ideology'.[6] Once again, this is both so and not so. For, the *initial* period (1982) is truly, as indicated above, a *critical* transition.

In that transition, the State is in an atmosphere of ideological flux when the ideological tendencies are contending with each other within the dreadful circumstances of Rawlingsian *konkoism* or indetermination. Again, a very close study of Rawlings' published collected speeches shows this phenomenon. Each speech reflects a *different* ideological orientation. As illustrated by the incident at the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC) it all depends on the particular speech that Rawlings finally chooses to read. And the choice of speech depends on the *last* person to have Rawlings' ear.

Such is the gravity of the dire ideological mood of the country under a *konkoist* Head of State. But every transition has to be resolved and is certainly resolved in favour of those forces that are armed in terms of military weapons of destruction and defence, ultimately. The defining moment arrives when Dr. Kwesi Botchway, the then Secretary of Finance, secretly jettisons progressive forces that canvased for his Secretaryship.

This is in the midst of contentions over an economic programme to guide the *konkoist* December 31st coup d'état that masquerades as a revolution. After Rawlings' threats and funny sitting and standing postures fail to secure for him the acquiescence to subordination to IMF dictatorship[7] he manages to secure the traitorous services of his Finance

[5]This is reported to yours truly by Alhaji Ali Yemoh when he delivers Rawlings' invitation to him.

[6] See Appendix.

[7] This is after delegations sent to socialist countries to beg for money to pay workers fail to secure such assistance. Cuba, for instance, offers to rather assist the reactivation of the Komenda and Asutuare sugar plantations but the short-sighted *konko* wanted cash.

Secretary, an otherwise anti-imperialist advocate. This marks the beginning of the end of the progressive forces' input in what NDM propaganda calls 'revolutionary process'.

Within the chaos of the transition, as said, since it is a free-for-all situation, the progressive organizations *individually* assume paths in accord with their own ideologico-organizational perspectives. Before the coup these organizations had contended with each other for ideologico-organizational space in the realm. While the New Democratic Movement concentrates on Legon campus, the People's Revolutionary League of Ghana (PRLG) and the June Four Movement operate in communities, workplaces and campuses.

The participation of a conspiratorial section of the JFM, with Chris B. Atim and Rawlings as General Secretary and Chairman, respectively, in the December 31 coup d'état initially gives the JFM *as a whole* a certain leverage over the other organizations in the events following the coup. The PRLG relates well with the JFM as ideological partners – both bearing roots in the working people – but not so well with the NDM whose elitist pretensions are resisted. These ideologico-organizational trends reflect in the transition.

Given that the PRLG has at the time a brief history of organizing and creating revolutionary committees in the countryside and the urban workplaces, prior to the issue of guidelines for the Defence Committees it exercises control over the *form* that the DCs take. Hence, it directs the sporadically emerged DCs into the structure of an alternative state system intended to replace the existing State apparatus that is structured in service of capitalist neo-colonialism. The PRLG focuses on this even after the guidelines are issued.

NDM cadres are quick to observe this trend in the development of the DCs and brace up to hijack the drive from bureaucratic heights assumed in the newly created Interim National Co-ordinating Committee of the Defence Committees (INCC). This nearly results in an unpleasant and nasty scene at the Ministries. While such internal struggles take their course, the JFM and NDM cadres wage the struggle against obliging the IMF in policy formulation. As part of these latter struggles an adventurist conspiracy is hatched.

Chris Bukari Atim, Chairman of the INCC (which now stands as the National Defence Committee), confident in his relations and even control of those who had participated in the December 31 coup, leads this conspiracy. In the midst of the discovery of Dr. Kwesi Botchway's secret outing to the United States for negotiations with the IMF, pandemonium breaks loose in the progressive ranks. The conspiracy to overthrow Rawlings seems to have leaked. There is tension and mutual suspicion at the Gondar Barracks.

But before then Chris Atim travels to Libya or so. In his absence, James Quarshie, a cadre close to Rawlings, informs yours truly that the latter (Rawlings) is concerned about the slowdown in the tempo of 'the revolution' and that there is the need to revive it. According to him he had suggested to Rawlings that yours truly was the appropriate person to do that. Rawlings then asks him to contact him to put things afoot. After a full month of preparation, October 22 1982 is set for a monstrous demonstration in Accra.

On the eve of the demonstration a final meeting of the Organizing Committee, which yours truly puts in place, is at the middle of its proceedings when Nyeya Yen of the JFM comes to the premises to inform him that Capt. Kojo Tsikata invites him to the Castle at Osu. He is to meet Flt-Lt. Rawlings, Kojo T says. Rawlings fails to turn up. Capt. Tsikata then asks him to see PNDC members, Anaa Ennin and Sgt. Alolga Akata-Pore, in a nearby office. After describing the form of the demonstration yours truly is asked to call it off.

It is then explained that some anti-government forces are reported to plan to infiltrate the demonstrators with anti-government placards. This seems strange since no such placard is presented. When the cancellation of the demonstration is announced to the Organizing Committee a thunderous shout of disapproval fills the room. The disappointment is monumental and on the following day, the day of the demonstration, the office of the INCC is full with indignant workers. Chris Atim cools them down into dispersal.

Then comes October 28 when an attempt is made to arrest no other person than Sgt. Akata-Pore and other soldiers. A chaotic situation is brewing and arms are cocked. This seems to be in the evening or at night since nobody hears of it at the INCC. But just before 10 a.m. on October 29, when yours truly is prepared to go out to attend the Friday

meeting of the Interim Zonal Co-ordinating Committee of the Workers Defence Committees (IZCWDC), Bawa Mahama rushes to relay a message to him from Chris Bukari Atim.

The message carries an instruction from Atim: yours truly is to inform the IZCWDCs that Flt.-Lt Rawlings and Capt. Kojo Tsikata have run away in the midst of chaos at the Gondar Barracks but that Sgt. Alolga Akata-Pore is in control of the situation. This is to pre-empt misinterpretation of the events of the previous day by the forces of reaction and counter-revolution. Already disorganized by the previous week's event, yours truly calls the *executives* of the two IZCWDCs in Accra and informs them to relay it to members.

At Zone 'A', meeting at the Baden Powell Memorial Hall, the so-called announcement of a coup by the Chairman of the executive is received with thunderous acclamation while yours truly meets with the Zone 'B' executives. Upon his return to the NDC (INCC) office he meets a quiet atmosphere with all attention turned on him. 'What have you gone to tell the workers?', both Zaya Yeebo and Nicholas Atampugri ask. The Atim message is repeated. 'No, Rawlings and Kojo T are at Gondar', they add.

Yours truly is unmoved. For, the gravity of the situation is yet to register in his mind. While he explains the incidence to members of the INCC he receives a message that he's been invited to the Gondar Barracks or so. The Secretary of the Defence Committees, Akrasi Sarpong, opts to accompany him; but on the stairs, about to step down, one of the police escorts asks him to 'leave Accra immediately. There are some big men looking for your blood'. He then climbs up, picks his bag and leaves. He is persuaded to leave Ghana by JFM cadres after three weeks of stay at some villages.

On the following day, November 23 1982, while in Kano, the BBC announces that some soldiers have been arrested in Ghana for an attempted coup d'état. The insinuations cast in the news item make it clear that Sgt. Akata-Pore has been arrested. Somewhere in December 1982 Chris Atim circulates a resignation letter and is driven across the Ghana-Togo border by his bodyguard, Umar Pharouk Hali, who returns to the barracks. Pharouk later leaves to reside in Togo from where he participates in the June 19 Jail Break.

In the absence of the progressive forces, the Defence Committees are transmogrified into 'Committees for the

Defence of the Revolution (CDRs)' to serve as *non-political* distribution entities deflated of all political content. JFM leaders are hounded about with the assistance of some NDM cadres who, in their own time, are also either purged from the scheme of affairs or thrown into prison cell (as in the case of Sheeshey). Virtually all of such persons are now aligned to the opposition NPP.

This is not a complete narrative but it shows how the ideological transition is *resolved* in favour of the reactionary capitalist forces of neo-colonialism and counter-revolution by the end of 1982. Since that early time and for ten years the ideological orientation of capitalist neo-colonialism dictates PNDC policy right into the four terms of National Democratic Congress (NDC) rule. Hence, Tsatsu's summary statement that he doesn't think 'that the PNDC was necessarily driven by ideology' is essentially incorrect.

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This is immediately related to his theory that suggests that change in the initial (1982) ideological orientation of the PNDC, when the progressive forces dominated the ideological struggle, is due to *bringing on board other people* – an act that, he says, 'sometimes … tends to, if you like, defuse the clarity of the, may be, ideological conviction that may be driving certain people'.[8] It is strange that Tsatsu expresses himself in such terms since he knows that people were either purged or killed or chased into exile then.[9]

How, in the space and bosom of history, is an ideological direction *adulterated* through *doses* of *injection* of some *other* ideology? Is the concept of *class struggle* not the determinant of the movement of modern history? At least, just a few decades ago, on the Legon campus, Tsatsu Tsikata, yes, this same Tsatsu Tsikata, holds aloft the banner of 'class analysis' as 'scientific analysis'. Time does not allow us here but let it be sufficient to state that on no occasion at any time has he propounded any *theory of ideological adulteration*.

[8] See Appendix. By such phraseology, does Tsatsu doubt the actual existence of such ideological drives? He says 'may be'. That is an unfortunate way of acknowledging a historical fact. In fact, elsewhere in the interview he states rather correctly that 'there have been a number of people with firm ideological convictions and principles who involved in working for the country during the time of the PNDC.' Certainly, he still carries with him that condescending attitude of the 1970s and 1980s which defines reactions from PRLG and JFM quarters.

[9] While members of the JFM and PRLG suffer in that way, those of his own NDM, like Akoto Ampaw (Sheeshey), are thrown into prison cell.

It is not for nothing that the truly legendary Dr. Kwame Nkrumah approvingly quotes from Mazzini to the effect that: 'Every true revolution is a programme; and derived from a new, general, positive and organic principle. The first thing necessary is to accept that principle. Its development must then be confined to men who are believers in it, and emancipated from every *tie* or *connection* with any principle of an *opposite nature'*.[10] An ideology is either upheld or rejected but never *adulterated*! Does Tsatsu's *theory of adulteration* resonate with this wisdom? An incongruity.

Only a certain type of twist spawns such a theory in a sad rationalization of Rawlingsian *konkoism*. For, what takes place in the NDC is not something that should be truly called ideological *adulteration*. One ideology is *overthrown* at the party's early stage of evolution in the PNDC's womb. It is *replaced* by *another* that pretends to call itself 'social democracy' when it is essentially neo-colonial (comprador) capitalism with the despicable purpose of loading the *individual's* armpit with capitalist property just as with 'property-owning democracy'. Let's turn to those concepts.

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Tsatsu Tsikata distinguishes between the NDC's *social democracy* and the NPP's *property-owning democracy* and sees them as *completely different* perspectives. He strongly contends that *nobody* in the NDC is ever going to *talk* about property-owning democracy and that the 'NDC social democratic orientation is a deeply felt conviction of many people in the NDC.'[11] Certainly, it is the NPP, in Ghanaian political circumstances, that originates and popularises the concept of 'a property-owning democracy'.

In those circumstances, it is definitely *unwise* for *anybody* in NDC to *also talk* of property-owning democracy; lest they be accused of copying or stealing from the NPP – something that the NPP continually, actually, accuses the NDC of, relating to some policy options. But not *talking* about a concept does not necessarily mean one is not *practising* the reality connoted by that concept. The inverse also holds: *talking* about a concept does not necessarily mean that one measures up to the *practice* of the reality involved.

[10] Kwame Nkrumah, *Consciencism*, p.56
[11] See Appendix.

Many proclaim themselves as adherents of Christianity or Islam but not as many actually observe the tenets or practices of these religious entities; just as some of such adherents actually practise those tenets to the letter and spirit.

For sure, the imperatives of the multi-party system in Ghana and Africa as a whole – where a lot of cash is needed by candidates in intra-party and inter-party elections to shower on the electorate *funya funya* – compel the acquisition of yielding properties. For most of the time such properties are developed either as direct individual properties of public office holders or as properties of some individual party or family members.

In Ghanaian terms, whether it is 'social democracy' or 'property owning democracy' that is proclaimed the connotation in *reality* is the same. The end product is the same! Tsatsu Tsikata's stretch of his entire intellect to strike a *substantial* difference between the two categories is not supported by any empirical data of substantial weight. That is, he does not *scientifically* reflect reality when he says that 'I think that in spite of whatever similarity there is, there are also critical differences' between NDC and NPP.[12]

Does it not strike any listener of the interview that for at least once in his talking career, Fogah Tsatsu Tsikata does not here *define* his categories – 'social democracy', 'property owning democracy' – but proceeds to just declare their 'critical differences'?

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A careful reading of the transcript of the interview brings out how Fogah sleekly dodges the question of *mentoring in governance* by experienced people like Kwesi Botchway, Ato Ahwoi and others to enable people, who are to take over from them, acquire their 'kind of carefully crafted convictions'. Rather than address this relatively *recent* historical reference, Fogah goes back to the long past *pre-PNDC/NDC-governance* era of Kutu Acheampong and his Supreme Military Council government to talk about Legon *campus activities*.

Bernard Avle's question to Fogah is better quoted thus: 'I'm asking if the experience people like Kwesi Botchway, Ato

[12] See Appendix.

Ahwoi and all these people had in governance: have they mentored right people to take over even within that space? Why do we not have people with the same kind of carefully crafted convictions? Could it be that they did not consciously mentor people to take over from them?' Clearly, the question relates to the *PNDC/NDC period* regarding *governance* experience *but not* Legon campus public lectures.

Let's listen to Fogah Tsatsu Tsikata's response at length thus:

> I think in Legon at the time when a number of us like Aki Sawyerr, Kwesi Botchway and Fui, my brother, and a number of us were in the Law Faculty a lot of younger people related to us, to our convictions and we were often engaged in lectures and so on, on campus which were very well attended by younger generations. And I think it served its purpose in the time because it drew some of these people into wider issues about this country and its future.
>
> I've no doubt that some of those people who are now in positions that you'll identify and so on drew some inspiration from what they learnt in that period. So, to be fair, that is as much of a contribution at that time, perhaps, we were able to muster. Now, whether there are other elements in the politics of today, yes, I think that evidently there are those other elements. I think that it is necessary to remain fairly optimistic …

Not being satisfied with the way the question is being answered or sensing Fogah's difficulties, Bernard Avle comes to his rescue with an intervening question thus: 'Or, can we say the socialists have lost? Let's put it bluntly. They've lost. They've given up.' Fogah does not concede that but his response is of *analytical* interest. He, as is his wont, defines socialism as both an ideology with a set of ideas and 'as a kind of international ideological movement'.[13] He then goes forth to apply the ideology in a *gbeyecious* fashion.

As an ideology, Fogah Tsatsu Tsikata, in the year of our Lord 2015, says that *socialism* 'has even driven the politics and economics of the United States'. He elaborates this to the effect that a 'couple of years ago they were buying, they were acquiring banks and Ford Motors and so on; and insurance companies and all that. I mean and suddenly people realized that nationalization isn't just a communist

[13] See Appendix.

idea.' A socialist United States? Well, by that position, socialism is *emptied* of its focus on *worker-ownership*?

The analytical significance of Fogah's position here is that he *now* sees socialism and/or communism as we can all see a *klantey* (cutlass). It can be used by both communists and capitalists; by, yes, both Marxist-Nkrumaists and Danquah-Busiaists. An ideology is, therefore, no longer defined in *class terms*, no longer in the context of the *class struggle*, no longer on the basis of *class analysis*. This *klantey*-definition of ideology surely spells the end in Tsatsu Tsikata's *mind* of ideology as a set of ideas *specifically* held by *a specific class*.

It enables him to see his socially based profession in law *outside* the premises of the class struggle which now appears *extinct*.

But this is not the end of the process of scientific deterioration in the thought of the Marxist thinker of yesteryears – Fogah Tsatsu Tsikata, the Legend of Citi FM 97.3! Few decades ago, he explains the development and application of talents and capabilities of the individual from *concretely existing socio-economic premises*. Today, according to him, 'it's a matter of God's grace on one's life that enables one to do what one has to do.' *Mystical* categories are now employed in place of those premises.

'I don't have any doubt that it's God's grace in my life that gave me certain talents that I can deploy hopefully, you know, deploy them in a manner that gives glory to Him', Fogah heartily declares.[14] To which declaration one of the students he mentors on Legon campus in the 1970s, affectionate Kwame Mfodwo, who contemplates opening a religious radio station in the country shortly, might promptly respond 'Amen ooooooo!'

Oh! Yes, while Fogah Tsatsu Tsikata very truly strives to *demystify* the mythology enveloping him in public space he correspondingly *mystifies* social reality with steady abandon. Interesting dialectics!

December 25-26 2015

[14] Elsewhere within the pages of the interview he makes it clear that 'serving the nation is ultimately what drives some of us and serving our creator and God who gives us the talent that he enables us to deploy.' See the Appendix.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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APPENDIX

CITI FM TOPIC: OH! CHRIST! TSATSU TSIKATA

(Excerpts from Citi FM Interview with Mr. Tsatsu Tsikata)

December 16, 2015

Transcribed by Lang T. K. A. Nubuor

Bernard Avle (BERNARD): (Reads a listener's request) Please, ask the genius of a lawyer in the studio whether he will turn down an offer to represent the NPP in court in the unlikely situation the NPP loses the 2016 election.

BERNARD: Okay. So let's start from that question … Somebody would want to know if you'll ever represent the NPP in court.

Tsatsu Tsikata (TSATSU): I don't think I'll ever be asked to.

BERNARD: No, you've not answered the question.

TSATSU: So I think we should move on to the next question.

BERNARD: Really? … Let me ask the question around natural intelligence versus … (being great naturally). Obviously you were born gifted. You admit that?

TSATSU: No, I always maintain that it's not; you know, it's a matter of God's grace on one's life that enables one to do what one has to do. And I don't credit myself with being a more hard-working student than anybody else or …

BERNARD: I think you didn't study more than most people. You didn't spend more time in the library or you did?

TSATSU: I did. I was diligent without doubt. But I'm saying that, you know, one should not overstate as compared to other students. I mean I don't lay claim to being the one who was the most hard-working and so on. But certainly I had a passion for what I was studying and I applied myself. But I don't have any doubt that it's God's grace in my life that gave me certain talents that I can deploy hopefully, you know, deploy them in a manner that gives glory to Him.

BERNARD: Okay. That's a nice way of putting it …

…

TSATSU: I think, I think in your … let me go back to your question. You asked a very direct question about, you know, would I represent the NPP? And you said that I evaded the question. But let me perhaps address it more elaborately. And the question was asked within the context: would I represent them in an election petition? Now I can tell you if the basis on which the representation, from a legal point of view, if the basis was meritorious I would have no problem in principle with representing the NPP. I think I can say that. And I can say that honestly in this sense, you know, in my carrier, you know, both as a lawyer and as a law lecturer and indeed in my experience of corporate life I think surprised many people, for instance, when I was at GNPC.

Some people were hired in GNPC who were known to be NPP people and later on … and I was involved in hiring them on account of their technical capabilities and what they doing politically had nothing to do with what they were supposed to do in the organization. And so when I was sometimes asked, you know, 'didn't you know that so and so was so and so?' I would say that that's neither here nor there, you know.

And, equally, as I mentioned earlier I have had, you know, friends and people that I had a lot of respect for, you know. You mentioned Hon. J. H. Mensah and so on; I mean who are NPP but I mean … you know, I used to meet J. H. Mensah when he was in Nsawam Prison and so on. I mean they were people that I really considered as people I could look up to.

And so in that sense I don't have any problem in principle. But when I said also (and this is initially I wanted to underline) when I said also that I'm not likely to be asked, let's face it, that's a reality within our context as a nation. The level of polarization and representation of people like me is such that it will be regarded as anathema, you know … Even to be approached, you know, it would be anathema.

BERNARD: Why is your relationship with NPP so acrimonious?

TSATSU: I don't know. I wish I knew. I think I'm very much …

BERNARD: Because, I'll give you an example on GNPC. A lot of NDC people believe … I mean when we put Tsatsu on the table it is white versus black. NPP people don't even seem to like him at all and NDC people think he is next thing to God. Why is that the case?

TSATSU: Actually, that is not completely right. Also, generally, a lot of people in the NPP who are concerned about some of these situations … and who would quietly say that they are not happy with something that is being articulated by one of their numbers but it's not so easy for them to say so publicly.

I mean, look, this is why I'm saying to you that your earlier conversation about polarization is something that needs to be gone into more intensely for us as a country with a lot of seriousness because I don't think it's helping us very much to have this intensity around just political partisanship, you know. I say sometimes that we are going to have a situation where, you know, if you are going to buy kenkey you'll ask whether it is NDC kenkey seller or an NPP kenkey seller.

BERNARD: But, Tsatsu, now who cause am? Let me make it clear. Can we not say that in the Rawlings time because of the seeds of the 1992 thing we did were sown at least within the first from 1981 to 1991. I mean political party activity was proscribed and all of that. Can we say that the seeds for this NDC/NPP thing were sown when people, you could say, Rawlings wanted to cement himself in power and people thought they wanted to oust him and that drove

…

TSATSU: No, no.

BERNARD: You don't think so?

TSATSU: You're wrong. The seeds go back further in our history. You know, the seeds go back to CPP, UP, you know, those political groupings … you know, you were a little bit too young to go back to those …

BERNARD: Really? …

TSATSU: … When we go back into that history of our country and the kind of political polarization around Nkrumah and anti-Nkrumah and so on, I think that is what has continued. And the point that I'm making is that we need to have a serious national conversation about the damage that that does to us because younger generations particularly should find ways of rallying ourselves together for national purposes.

BERNARD: Let me try to understand this. Is it an ideological difference between the UP people and the CPP people? Is it a class issue? Is it a tribal issue? Or, how come NDC and NPP seem to have inherited the same degree of conflict that Nkrumah and the UP people seem to have?

TSATSU: Well, I think this requires a whole programme in itself. But I think, in simple terms, one should just say that, you know, these historical traditions that were before independence in which an Nkrumah tradition came, as it were, from nowhere to take charge of the political system as against the tradition that felt it had been around longer and it should have, perhaps, been in the forefront in the independence struggle somehow.

There they saw Kwame Nkrumah becoming really the leader of the country in a way that they had not been able to be. And I think that it stirred a lot of emotions, you know, in some of those people. And generations after that continue to live some of these emotions.

…

BERNARD: I remember one of the books. I don't know whether it was one of OPEC's books. But there was an impression I got that even though you were not a government official in the PNDC days you certainly had the ear of President Rawlings and, at least from the legal point of view. And there was a very interesting photograph that I saw of one he coming from a certain trip and there was one young man standing behind him which was you. And the impression is created that although you were not a member of the PNDC you were actually one of the minds behind some of the decisions he took. Is that correct?

TSATSU: I don't think that is correct. I think people have to recognize that President Rawlings had a mind of his own and was very clear about his own agenda for the country and in the country. I mean, yes, some of us also he regarded as having some capabilities we could contribute to whatever he wanted to achieve. But we also did not just see it as a question of working for President Rawlings, working for the country; because serving the nation is ultimately what drives some of us and serving our creator and God who gives us the talent that he enables us to deploy.

So it wasn't, you know, I think sometimes people look at things and try to unduly personalize them. Yes, I was often involved in travelling on foreign missions with President Rawlings and so on and to the extent that he thought I could be of help or value or in any context where representing the nation and so on. Yes, I made myself available; but I don't think that is legitimate to make it seem as if, you know, some kind of mysterious-behind-the-scene, you know, mind that was driving this and that. I think that some of the mythology that tends to go around.

BERNARD: You call it mythology. Okay, how different … is the … and again I use PNDC because again NDC is a political party. But I'm thinking of Kwesi Botchwey, Ato Ahwoi. I'm thinking of Kyeretwie Opoku. I'm thinking of Yaw Graham. I'm thinking of the names of people I know who I'm not saying they are socialists but it is very clear these people have a clear mind on the kind of world they want to see. They are very dedicated to a certain way of doing things. And yet when you take people who are in government now you don't see people with a certain strong ideology, for want of a better word. How much has changed between that time and now.

TSATSU: I don't think that the PNDC was necessarily driven by ideology. I think that there have been, as you rightly said, there have been a number of people with firm ideological convictions and principles who involved in working for the country during the time of the PNDC. And, as I've said, for many of such people I'm sure if you ask them also they will tell you that their conviction has to do with, you know, their aspiration for the country and people as a whole.

So once you understand that then you can also appreciate that, perhaps, you know, within the context of the more modern kind of political party systems there are other forces, there are other elements which all come together. You know, numbers, you know, matter very much in the political game. And so I think that as you bring on board other people sometimes it tends to, if you like, defuse the clarity of the, may be, ideological conviction that may be driving certain people.

BERNARD: But is that not worrying in the sense that we had people very with clear convictions. They had a … We knew what they stood for. Now, it's not that clear. And I can say that all those voices have been silenced. I hardly hear of

Kyeretwie Opoku, Guzzy Tandoh. I don't hear of these people again. Although they can consider themselves the grandpapas of the party, if you want. They hardly ever comment. They hardly ever write. They've almost been silenced. And now there's a lot of younger people doing a different kind of politics, from both sides.

TSATSU: Well, you should talk to all those people. But it reminds me of what the person asked about writing a book which I think I'm, you know, beginning to work on that. But I appreciate people encouraging me to write because I believe that it is also an important articulation. I don't accept that one should write because other people who have not, you know, got certain credentials are writing and so on. No, I think all of us have things that we can contribute through writing, especially about the experience over different, you know, political dispensations; our experience in the country, in different parts of the world.

I think that you in the media, for instance, also have a responsibility really to highlight more some of the developmental agenda of our country because we hear too much of the polarization that we were talking about earlier and too little of what can bring us together. And, unfortunately, other people can take advantage of that. That is what colonialism was about, after all – divide and rule.

BERNARD: Hmmm! Very interesting indeed. So, you top people (this is the last point on that), can you say it is because of lack of mentoring? Because I'm asking if the experience people like Kwesi Botchway, Ato Ahwoi and all these people had in governance: have they mentored right people to take over even within that space? Why do we not have people with the same kind of carefully crafted convictions? Could it be that they did not consciously mentor people to take over from them? That's why we are seeing that vacuum?

TSATSU: I think in Legon at the time when a number of us like Aki Sawyerr, Kwesi Botchway and Fui, my brother, and a number of us were in the Law Faculty a lot of younger people related to us, to our convictions and we were often engaged in lectures and so on, on campus which were very well attended by younger generations. And I think it served its purpose in the time because it drew some of these people into wider issues about this country and its future.

I've no doubt that some of those people who are now in positions that you'll identify and so on drew some inspiration from what they learnt in that period. So, to be fair, that is as much of a contribution at that time, perhaps, we were able to muster. Now, whether there are other elements in the politics of today, yes, I think that evidently there are those other elements. I think that it is necessary to remain fairly optimistic …

BERNARD: Or, can we say the socialists have lost? Let's just put it bluntly. They've lost. They've given up.

TSATSU: No, I don't think so. I think that socialism has, you know, an ideology. Socialism has a kind of historical set of ideas that drives people; has even driven the politics and economics of the United States. A couple of years ago they were buying, they were acquiring banks and Ford Motors and so on; and insurance companies and all that. I mean and suddenly people realized that nationalization isn't just a communist idea.

Look, so that I'm saying that those principles and their relevance, you know … Kwame Nkrumah and how his socialism affected his own thinking for Ghana, for Pan Africa, you know, the whole African continent. I think that you cannot say that that's been a failure or that anybody else lost on that. I think that we can say within the overall international context, though, that because of some of these, you know, developments around the communist world, Russia and so on. Yes, socialism has a setback as a kind of international ideological movement, if you like.

BERNARD: Just a final point on that. Are you worried about the seeming similarity between the NDC and NPP, though, because, I mean, some people don't really see the difference; and in terms of their approach to development. And there are so many examples you could give that there seems to be a coming together. I mean Kuffuor is an NPP President. He did a lot of things that are considered socialist; okay, and then the other side. So, is it problematic for you or it's not a problem at all. Do you agree that there seems to be a growing similarity between the two?

TSATSU: I think that in spite of whatever similarity there is there are also critical differences. Nobody in NDC is ever going to talk to you about the property-owning democracy. A property-owning democracy is a completely different

perspective. And I mean NDC social democratic orientation is, I think, a deeply felt conviction of many people in the NDC.

What you point to which I agree is problematic is the fact that sometimes these principled orientations do not seem to be guiding some of the people who are loudly professing allegiance to the particular tradition. And it happens in both ways; so you might have somebody who is supposedly an NPP, you know, fanatic or whatever who really doesn't know anything about property-owning democracy and hasn't got any understanding, may be, even. Equally, you may have people who are loud and fanatical in the NDC who do not understand what social democracy is.

So that is a problem, you know, for us as a country. We need to ensure that our politics have more principled orientations so that even when there are differences, the differences are around principles. They can't just be the politics of power.

BERNARD: But there is the corruption issue because, I mean, there is the feeling that both parties are very corrupt. And that's the general input. Indeed, the President yesterday had to spend minutes talking about corruption, saying that because of our democracy and the media the corruption perception is high and that he was doing a lot (and I'm not saying that we should make a judgment on NDC corruption) but the perception among ordinary Ghanaians is that both two parties are corrupt.

TSATSU: Yes, well, I think that this relates to the point that I was making that when the politics get more and more seen in terms of power and in terms of being able to have power in order to have personal gain then, indeed, corruption takes centre stage. And as you're rightly pointing out the perceptions are worrying. The perceptions from ordinary people and also some of the reality that we get to hear about. Because some of the reality does not, you know, enable us to advance as a country. Corruption is very deadly in terms of what it takes out of the public purse.

What it rather puts … you know, if you have a situation in which, you know, billions of dollars of resources can come out of, let's say, petroleum agreements that are entered into by the country. If you have a situation in which as a result of, you know, favours being done for whatever reason you lose some of that, you know. You have people analysing certain

agreements in this country and what is lost by the way that those particular agreements were negotiated; so we are talking about billions of dollars.

And if you lose billions of dollars to foreign entities because you might get, you know, a few hundred millions and you think that that's okay, it's not okay because by virtue of corruption the country has actually ended up losing billions of dollars. So it's a very deadly thing and I believe that we need to address it.

That's part of what I'm saying that once we remove the blinders of polarized politics and just everything by NPP, NPP people will defend; everything by NDC, NDC people will defend. If we remove some of those blinders then we can confront the issue of corruption head-on. It's not just targeting one government or the other. I think as a country we must be concerned about the loss of value, the loss of national resources.

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IN DEFENCE OF MARXISM-NKRUMAISM SERIES

MARXISM-NKRUMAISM

The Historical Development of the Thought and Practice of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah

Lang T. K. A. Nubuor

Centre for Consciencist Studies and Analysis (CENCSA)

The greatness of a historical personality should not be measured by his achievements in an environment of peace, order and abundances; it should be measured against the *grave difficulties* in which the achievements were made. Kwame Nkrumah's unparalleled socio-economic, educational, industrial, scientific, technological, agricultural and cultural accomplishments in the post-colonial Ghana, as well as his unmatched contribution towards the African liberation struggle, (were) carried out in the environment of systematic internal and external destabilizing campaigns, terrorism, death threats on his life, external economic sabotage and the absence of decolonized African thinkers and brainpower.

Kwame Botwe-Asamoah, *Kwame Nkrumah's Politico-Cultural Thought and Policies, 2005,* **(PDF) p. 13**

Nkrumah has left a valuable intellectual legacy comprising an essential analytical framework in which to comprehend our present reality. Such a legacy and framework remains unmitigatedly relevant for Africans and the African continent today.

Ama Biney, 'The Intellectual and Political Legacies of Kwame Nkrumah', *The Journal of Pan African Studies, vol.4, no.10, January 2012,* **(PDF) p. 139**

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FOREWORD

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's attraction to Karl Marx, recorded in Consciencism*, forever commits him to seeing the world* not as a serene whole *but* one in constant agitation *by reason of its dialectical constitution. The study of Marx's dialectical materialism, as well as its derivative historical materialism on the basis of which scientific socialism emerges, vis-á-vis the Hegelian idealist construct and other philosophical systems becomes a consuming passion for him. Thenceforth, he strives to situate his own analysis of social reality within the frame of Marx's dialectical and historical materialism and scientific socialism.*

Born into humble circumstances in a society of the mystic and the rational *out of which to evolve* in Africa, Dr. Nkrumah emerges as a titan striding not only the geographical and political landscape of the continent and the Diaspora. He strides across the ideologico-philosophical horizons of the African who sincerely strives to break out of the chains of capitalist imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in quest of a scientific socialist-based united Africa.

Committed, till his last breath, to his *class origins*, as differentiated from his *class position*, Dr. Nkrumah – not only as an academician but more importantly as an intellectual inspired by the flames of contemporary history and the aspirations of his forebears and mentors in the liberation struggles of humankind – consciously trains himself in acquisition of knowledge to illuminate the path of the twists and turns of Africa's quest for her freedom.

Fired up by the need to understand Africa's *specific* circumstances among the nations of the world, Dr. Nkrumah seeks such methods and principles of intellectual analysis that yield a perfect depiction of those circumstances. Such depiction requires a portrayal of the specific principles animating the dynamics of *African* social reality. Knowledge of those principles and their application facilitate the aim and objectives of changing Africa into a free society.

Being mindful of the universal (or international) and particular (or national) dimensions of knowledge and their interconnectedness he delves deep into the fund of the world's intellectual history in search of the universal methods and principles of analysis. This is where he undertakes critical evaluations of the world's systems of thought in history to *evolve* his thought system. That is not without an initial rejection of Marxist thought which he afterwards adopts.

The moment of his adoption of Marxism seems to us to mark the peak of his formative stages in his intellectual development between the second half of the 1930s and the first half of the 1940s. That suggests that he makes a *transition* from non-Marxian philosophic positions to the Marxist orientation by 1942 when he begins writing his first doctoral dissertation *History and Philosophy of Imperialism with Special Reference to Colonial Problems*.

That dissertation is associated with *Towards Colonial Freedom* which makes a pamphlet out of it between 1942 and 1945. Before these 1940s works, he writes his 1938 essay 'Imperialism: Its Politics, Social and Economic Aspects' which wins him a prize before his graduation in 1939. Three undated essays, 'Is Man Naturally Moral?', 'The Philosophy of Property' and 'The History of the Negro Church', appear in content to pre-date that of 1938.

A second dissertation *Mind and Thought in Primitive Society – A Study in Ethno-Philosophy With Special Reference to the Akan Peoples of the Gold Coast, West Africa* is written in 1944. In its line of thought, it is preceded by two articles on education in Africa. The first, 'Primitive Education in West Africa', is published in *Educational Outlook*, Volume XV Number 2 January 1941 while the second, 'Education and Nationalism in Africa', appears in *Educational Outlook*, Volume XVIII Number 1 November 1943.

As indicated above, a careful study shows the two dissertations to, respectively, map up themes in political economy and philosophic anthropology. In this way, while the first leads through *Towards Colonial Freedom* and *Africa Must Unite* to *Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism* the second ends up in *Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for De-Colonisation*. The history of these dissertations is marked by their Marxist theoretical

perspective. In this regard, many of the late 1930s essays appear as *transitional*.

As in all transitions one observes conflicts in thought. Ama Biney, who considers the first dissertation as evidence of Dr. Nkrumah's viewing 'the world from a Marxist theoretical perspective' and sees him bearing 'an undogmatic Marxist and Pan-African outlook', quotes him from 'The Philosophy of Property' as stating that communistic theories are idealistic and impractical, seeming unsuccessful where tried; and that the principles of communism contradict human nature and the original nature of property.

Biney also quotes him from his 'Is Man Naturally Moral?' asserting that he subscribes to the theory that Man is not born with morals but that his moral or immoral action is determined by the mores and customs of society. One observes the tension between these respective quoted assertions since the second (in this paragraph) is not contradicted in Marxist/communist theory which even goes further specifically to trace the determination of morality in the conflict of class interests in socio-economic production.

Happily, such tensions are resolved in the second dissertation in which Marxist materialist dialectics is upheld and applied as in the article 'Education and Nationalism in Africa'. We are thus in neat acknowledgement of the fact that like all of us Dr. Nkrumah's ideas undergo stages of development. We, however, hold that *before* the 1945 Pan-African Congress he goes *beyond* the transition and *settles* on Marxism as his world outlook. To go beyond this to assert that even in the 1960s he is *yet* to be Marxism-firm is incorrect.

Our anxiety here is to point out that by 1944 Dr. Nkrumah develops a *Marxist class perspective* through the prism of which he analyses society and proffers solutions for development. At *every* turn in his references to Marx, he accords him the respect of an authority on the issue at stake though he focuses on Marx's *universal principles* in avoidance of dogmatism. This attitude runs through his *entire* works spanning the period of his student activism in the 1940s through that of nationalist politics in the 1950s and beyond.

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There is this very unfortunate practice among scholars that tends to confuse *ideology* and *pragmatism (that is, practicality)*. The two are mistakenly conceived to be antithetic. For, resort to pragmatic moves is common to every ideology. A pragmatic move *within* an ideological framework does not contradict that ideology but seeks to exploit occasions to realize the aim or objective of the ideology when a path is blocked within the given situation. Thus, instead of armed struggle a democratic struggle is waged – for instance.

This applies to Dr. Nkrumah's *political practice* in the era of anti-communism when the situation in the Gold Coast is dominated by an armed barbaric colonial administration prepared to brutalize an unarmed people. The barbaric brutality displayed during the peaceful march by ex-servicemen just two months after Dr. Nkrumah's return and commencement of political mobilization and organization remains fresh in people's minds. The work of the Watson Commission exhibits paranoia of 'the communist threat'.

Hence, throughout the period leading to independence in 1957 Dr. Nkrumah remains cautious in *language and action* lest the process leading to political freedom be compromised. Even in 1954 he goes to Parliament to announce to the august house that in future no communist is to be appointed or employed by the state organs when there are *virtually no communists* among the population and *he* is the number one communist around. The move is devised as a way of tactically easing colonial fears of future communism.

That's why *after* independence not only does he organize a Pan-African conference inclusive of African Marxist revolutionaries among others. He becomes frequent in his references to socialism openly and even goes on after the attainment of republican status to inaugurate the Winneba Ideological Institute to train Marxist activists. Personnel of the organs of state are then required to spend time at the Institute to clean the colonial rot in their minds to render those organs viable for operation of socialist programmes.

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In addition to those unfavourable anti-communist conditions of the colonial era and the imperative of working within the *existing* state organs, Dr. Nkrumah also faces the

development of an *embryonic bourgeoisification* of African society. In the spirit of Marx's orientation against the atomization of society and the elimination of class conflict for a communist society, he commits to stultifying that embryo as against facilitating its development. Bourgeoisification is not to be encouraged but nipped in the bud – a difficult task.

Given these inhibitions and pressures, his government adopts the *tactical* grant of leverage to the nurturing of bourgeois property in subordination to the state sector. This is, then, *counter-balanced* by the conscious denial of state support to it. Though unintended, this leverage rather proves sufficient to foster the emergent bourgeois forces and relations of production. The emergent pressures from such relations are that significant to generate socio-economico-political aberrations in self-defence against socialist construction.

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We are very anxious to make it clear to students of Dr. Nkrumah that suggestions to the effect that the development of his Marxist bent of mind is in *stages* over the *entire* period of his *career* are not well thought out and run contrary to the history of his theoretical growth and maturity. We contend that just as one does not take a *whole* lifetime to *understand* that 2 + 2 = 4 and to apply it, so does he not take the *entire* period of 1935-72 *learning* his Marxist theory in *stages*. *Before* his return in 1947, his grasp of Marxism is *set*.

It is his *application* of that theory that guides him to take set tactical steps *forwards* and *backwards* in his *practical politics* in pursuit of independence and socialist construction. Any suggestions of such *steps in politics* being the mark of an immature mind *yet to attain its Marxist aptness* and, therefore, constituting *stages* of its *theoretical* advance are flawed. That move from *politics* to *theory* constitutes a *methodological absurdity*. It is akin to raising issues with someone's *grasp* of a mathematical *principle* from the mode of its *application*.

Revolutionary politics is *not* a mathematical calculation that points in one direction *only* at *all times*. Such revolutionary politics as seeks to arrive at solutions *mathematically* can only be *dogmatic*. That is the kind of dogmatism that Dr.

Nkrumah checks in Anthony Woode when he timeously fires and reinstates him. It is best avoided by *applying* Marxism to *Africa's* reality. In fact, in the paper 'On the Question of Who Founded Ghana', published in the *Journal of Marxism-Nkrumaism*, December 2014, we observe thus:

> Revolution is an art. It has been stated. Revolution is a science. Others have held. These are an expression of seeing the elephant from different angles. Revolution is both an art and a science. As a science it is studied to track down its laws of motion. As an art it involves a plot in which actors play roles that come to them as a matter of course. The point, therefore, is to be armed with the knowledge of these laws and apply them not only in analysing specific situations in their historical context in order to decide on what action to take but also in the selection of the actors for specific roles. Those in the vanguard and those in the mass complement and constitute a whole – the mass being the prime agency of change. The efficiency of the vanguard resides in its ability to gauge the dispositions of the mass and the enemy's strength. To act immediately in a particular direction or postpone action until future conditions permit depends on that ability. In the current situation the revolutionary creates those future conditions to later realize the immediately impossible. Revolution is the game of the one immersed in theory as well as in practice. This is the lesson of the revolutionary life of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah ...

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This book conducts a historical exploration of the evolution of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's thought and practice system *vis-á-vis* the ideologico-philosophical as well as political economy framework of Marxism within the process of state formation in Ghana since the pre-colonial era. Herein, we attempt to develop his thought system in socialist and communist *ideological* clarification, *philosophical* elucidation and illumination of Africa's *political economy* within the setting of Marxism-Nkrumaism which is his application of Marxism to African society to generate socialism.

Clearly, then, our motivation here stems from the need to combat non-Marxian shallow and dry academic treatments of the life and works of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in universities across the world so as to restore his thought system to its *Marxist* premises informed by the principle of intra-African and international *class struggles*. This invites us to map out a living strategy for the practical execution of his programme of Revolutionary Pan-Africanism under the banner of Marxism-Nkrumaism within our current conditions.

In his days, Dr. Nkrumah does not inherit an indigenous *socialist* African development blueprint to guide him. He pioneers it with eyes set on the inherited principles and values of our evaporating *communal* past. As such a pioneer, he stoops to conquer. He leaves us with the resultant analytical legacy of Marxism-Nkrumaism. Our task, then, is to try to critically *develop* it in its theoretico-practical complexities and multi-facetted dimensions so as to understand *Africa* and build the liberating socialist united Africa of his dreams.

That's our charge to keep – evolving a socialist African society that projects the African Personality from the debris of colonization and colonial rundown of Africans through subversion of our history to obliterate our image as bearers of African civilization in burial of our self-confidence as a people with pride! The African Genius that underscores the African Personality deserves to radiate ever more brilliantly today. We have a tradition to behold and develop – a tradition of resistance and resilience – and a culture to project.

We shall overcome!

Let's Remain Focused, Determined and Bold!
Forward Ever!
Onward to the African Revolution!

September 21 2015

PREFACE

The concept of ‘Marxism-Nkrumaism’, but not that of ‘Nkrumaism’, appears to send the ripples down the spine of several ‘Nkrumaists’ in Ghana, Africa and the Diaspora. The unease with the former concept stems from apprehensions that are not easily discernible. For, even progressive thinkers and activists who are agreeable to proposals of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah’s thought system being set up on the basis of Marxist philosophy and ideology suffer such unease.

In the recent past, we had occasion to make phone calls to some of our comrades before referring to them as ‘Marxist-Nkrumaists’ in a write-up under preparation. Four are involved. The question put to each is: ‘Would it be correct to refer to you as a Marxist-Nkrumaist?’ The first responds in the affirmative. The second states that although he understands Dr. Nkrumah’s thought system as based on Marxist principles he prefers being known as Nkrumaist.

The third likewise accepts the Marxist premises as the basis of Dr. Nkrumah’s thought system but would not want to be referred to as a Marxist-Nkrumaist because, to the best of his knowledge, Dr. Nkrumah never refers to himself as such. The fourth cannot pick the call and so an SMS is sent to him but to no avail. Meeting in person later, he says he does not have any problem being referred to as a Marxist-Nkrumaist. He acknowledges receipt of the SMS.

From the African-American Diaspora a comrade asks us whence we came by the concept of ‘Marxism-Nkrumaism’, from the works of Dr. Nkrumah? We concede to him that none of the latter’s *direct* works makes reference to that concept. The only such reference, we state, is in a reported discussion with his literary executrix, Mrs June Milne. The latter reports him to have used the concept in her book *Kwame Nkrumah – The Conakry Years*.

At pages 195-6, Milne reports that in a discussion with Dr. Nkrumah between November 15 and 22, 1967 the latter refers to himself as ‘A Marxist, rather than a Leninist’. According to her, he understands Leninism as ‘Marxism plus Bolshevism i.e. the *Russian* application of Marxism, the dictatorship of the proletariat’. He holds the ‘Latter not applicable to Africa’ where it ‘must be the dictatorship of the masses – Marxism-Nkrumaism’, Milne says.

In the Foreword to this book, we explain Dr. Kwame Nkrumah’s quest for a method and principles of analysis to

be applied to the *specificity* of the *African* condition to generate an understanding of the dynamics of African reality. We indicate therein that he finds these in Marxist philosophy and ideology. It is instructive to notice in Milne's narrative that this concern on the part of Dr. Nkrumah to offer an analysis of the *African* reality *independently* is observed.

It is also instructive to notice that on those same pages Milne tells us that in that discussion with Dr. Nkrumah he explains that the 'Essence of Marxism-Nkrumaism is contained in *Towards Colonial Freedom*'. So that, as explained in our Foreword, Dr. Nkrumah's commitment to the Marxist analytical perspective dates back to the early 1940s. His conception of Marxism is clearly understood as *an applicable analytical construct* just like other scientific paradigms.

Therein resides the *independence* of Marxism-Nkrumaism. And this is important. For, there is the need to ease the anxieties of those who think that conjoining Marxism with Nkrumaism entails a *loss* of *African* progressive intellectual-ideological independence – that is, submission to certain overbearing Marxist-Leninists. Those who clamour for the 'independence of Nkrumaism from Marxism' appear unaware of *their* own use of *Marxist* analytical concepts like 'mode of production', 'productive forces', 'materialist dialectics'.

Surely, there is a universal *erroneous conflation* of Marxism with Marxism-Leninism. Dr. Nkrumah, therefore, has good reason for distinguishing the one from the other in his reported observation that Leninism is the *application* of Marxism to *Russian* social reality. Any serious study of Marxism-Leninism confirms this and shows it as the application of the *universal* principles of Marxism but *not* its *particular* principles relating to the European specificity. Marxism-Nkrumaism equally applies Marxism's *universals* to Africa's reality.

It is certainly disturbing that these semi-radical Afrocentrists, who surely make an advance over traditional Afrocentrism – which latter rather shuns the application of Marxist analytical concepts – tend to justify their usage of the Marxist concepts upon the absurd claim that those concepts are of an *African origin* and that they do not require Marx to know about them. They cite Ibn Khaldun for it. They share such misconception with Prof. A. M. Babu, a rabid anti-Nkrumaist, who refers to Ibn Khaldun as an African who was 'the first

“marxian” thinker before Marx’. Babu is therein engaged in itemizing African firsts in world history.

Talking about *The Muqaddimah*, written by Ibn Khaldun and which is the source of most of the claims made in support of that misconception, Caroline Stone, in her *Ibn Khaldun and the Rise and Fall of Empires*, credits Ibn Khaldun with creating a new discipline of social science that treats human civilization and social facts in an interconnected whole. This, she adds, helps to change the way history is perceived and written. According to her, Ibn Khaldun locates the motive force of history in the *social solidarity* of a tribal society under a strong leader who then runs over a *complacent* advanced civilization. The conqueror settles into complacency and is similarly overrun. The cycle continues *ad infinitum*.

That is Ibn Khaldun’s philosophy of history. Assuming this to be so, we read nothing in *The Muqaddimah* about the *source* of the tribal society’s solidarity that enables it overrun sophisticated societies. We read nothing about that society’s *internal dynamics* apart from its *degree of blood purity* and internal consensus on aims. There is no reference to that society’s *mode of production* in which *forces of production* and *production relations* interact through the *creative activity of its masses* to spawn that solidarity – as Marx does.

Certainly, Ibn Khaldun advances historiography in his going beyond the simple historical chronicles of his days. But this *metaphysical*, non-dialectical, conception of a cyclical history that has no prospect of being broken to *explain* the *qualitative* development of society *in stages* is short of the insights of historical materialism and *cannot be equated to it*. Furthermore, the resort to ‘complacency’ as an *analytical* category to *explain* the fall of an empire is too lame a method in history to make a scientific impact.

Coming on to further detail, the semi-radical Afrocentrists hold that Marxist *dialectics* is likewise *anticipated* in *The Muqaddimah*. The least said about this the better. It is just sufficient to state here that in the entire pages of *The Muqaddimah* the word ‘dialectics’ appears six times and that in all those appearances it relates to *language* and *juridical disputation* but not the *contradictoriness* in *nature* and *society* and how this plays out in development. In this respect, read Ibn Khaldun’s definition of dialectics at p. 595 thus:

> "Dialectics" involves knowledge of the proper behaviour in disputations among the adherents of the legal schools and others. The choices of rejection and acceptance in disputations are numerous. In arguing and answering, each disputant lets himself go in his argumentation. Some of it is correct. Some of it is wrong. Therefore, the authorities had to lay down the proper rules of behaviour by which the disputants would have to abide. These concern rejection and acceptance; how the person advancing an argument should behave and how the person replying to the argument should behave; when it is permissible for a disputant to advance an argument; how he (should admit) defeat and stop; when he should interrupt or contradict (his opponent); and where he should be silent and permit his opponent to talk and advance his arguments. It has, therefore, been said that this discipline is the knowledge of the basic rules of proper behaviour in arguing which help either to safeguard an opinion or to demolish it, whether that opinion concerns jurisprudence or any other subject.

The question is: what has this *jurisprudential* definition of dialectics got to do with materialist dialectics as offered in Marxism? What is in it that Karl Marx learns for the construction of dialectical and historical materialism? What semblance do we observe between the two usages? Zero. Hence, this unwarranted stretch of the imagination to see in *The Muqaddimah* and Ibn Khaldun what cannot be found there is an unfortunate act surprising of Prof. Babu and the semi-radical Afrocentrists. Is it intellectual dishonesty?

We might not necessarily say so. For, in *The Muqaddimah* there is a section captioned 'The Real Meaning of Prophesy' where we are presented with a metaphysical concept of the world. This concept projects a *dualist* theory of *creation* whereby *material* and *Spiritual worlds* connect by *gradual process*. It might *appear akin* to the Marxist concept of the interconnectedness of phenomena in the *world* such that one phenomenon *evolves* from the other and interacts with it. That is a false appearance. It could be deceptive.

As if that is not enough, the said Afrocentrists venture into the field of political economy to claim that Marx's labour theory of value has its antecedence in Ibn Khaldun. Certainly, Ibn Khaldun projects a labour theory of value but it

is by far different from Adam Smith's labour theory of value which serves as Karl Marx's basis for his critique of bourgeois political economy. Ibn Khaldun's version is metaphysical in the sense that it perceives *value* in terms of the *individual's* labour input in his/her productive activity, *simplicita*.

For him, therefore, the size of the entire value created in a given society is directly proportional to the size of its *population*. A small population means to him a low level of value production. A large one means a high level of value production. Marx, on the other hand, perceives and crucially considers *labour-time* expended in the production. Significantly, he perceives the capitalist economy to conceive value creation *only* in a process of *social* production that yields *surplus-value* and without which latter *no value* is seen created.

In Ibn Khaldun's scheme of affairs, the *individual* appropriates the *entire* value that his labour creates. Out of this only the tax paid to the authorities is appropriated. The idea of a *surplus-value* that is appropriated by a second person other than the provider of labour *in the production process* is alien to him. Class dynamics in the *social process of production* is, therefore, absent in Ibn Khaldun. His set allusion to classes relates to his claim that *God* establishes classes, one in dominance over the other, to enforce *co-operation*.

Contrary to this concept of a *God-ordained (permanent) forceful* co-operation of free-thinking independent individuals in Ibn Khaldun's mind, Marx conceives of conflicting *class interests* in *the production process* as the occasion of co-operation within one class against the other and the emergence of the State as a class apparatus to hold down one class in favour of the other. Out of this process, Marx holds, capitalist state is abolished and superseded by that which withers away to usher in free universal co-operation.

Ibn Khaldun's political economy grows out of a *conservative* feudal and religious mind that constructs its categories in *metaphysical* terms whereas Marx positions himself in *materialist dialectics* to provide us with a scientific understanding of the world's processes in a very conscious move to effect a *revolutionary* reconstruction of society. The two gentlemen differ so much in their conception of the world and its phenomena that one wonders whether Karl

Marx ever knows of Ibn Khaldun whom he is said to have inherited.

In their effort to ostracize Marxism from Dr. Nkrumah's thought and practice, the semi-radical Afrocentrists raise issues with materialist philosophical assertions concerning the *sole reality of matter*. In *Consciencism*, Dr. Nkrumah asserts the *primary reality of matter* rather than its sole reality. In the appropriate chapter of this book we address the problematic involved. Here, just because the issue is raised in a pointless effort to dissociate Marxism from Marxism-Nkrumaism, we need only state that Dr. Nkrumah is not a *dualist*.

This becomes clear when we also address the issue of the nature of *matter* in the light of advances made in the physical sciences. The contentions are varied within the philosophical materialist school. All of these, we contend, do not invalidate the assertion of the Marxist basis of the thought and practice of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah – Marxism-Nkrumaism. We are dead certain about this.

It is our hope that this book achieves its purpose of not only providing an authentic history of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's system of thought and practice – Marxism-Nkrumaism – but also critically contributes to its development.

Let's Remain Focused, Determined and Bold!
Forward Ever!
Onward to the African Revolution!

October 17 2015

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND METHOD OF PRESENTATION

Central to the research methodology adopted here is the principle of distinguishing an activist's *shortcomings* from their *difficulties*. For, we conceive shortcomings as pertaining to one's grasp of an ideology and its philosophy *in degree* of insight. Difficulties, on the other hand, relate to *application* of an ideologico-philosophical system in the face of material obstacles in the process of realizing the aims, objectives and aspirations of its programmes. Distinction of this nature separates the activist from the academician.

The academician is pre-occupied with fault-finding in an activist's consistency in matching latter's declared intentions with actions. Difficulties on the activist's part are subordinated to needs for consistency in realization and are generally overlooked in the analytical process. For the academician, therefore, an activist's failure to realize a declared intention either amounts to the latter's lack of expertise in handling definite situations or misdemeanour. That is not a scientific way of looking at an activist's efforts.

This suggests another principle of research to us – getting into the mind of the political actor. It impresses on us to focus primarily on the said actor rather than the judgmental accounts of academicians or professional scholars. This further impresses on us the need to consider documented speeches, actions and writings of actors as being of prime importance. Statements made in such documents are themselves subjected to scrutiny of fact. For, *post-partum* accounts can be misleading rationalizations.

In this respect, speeches made and actions taken on the spare of the moment have a pride of place in our research options. Written speeches immediately follow suit. Interviews are also treated in the same spirit of placing priority on those granted in the heat of the moment over those formally arranged. To guard against according automatic credibility to statements made on the spare of the moment we subject them to tests of comparison in consistence with previous statements. Some of such statements are inadvertent.

Our third principle of research involves the use of works by those in academia. These works, judgmental though they tend to be, are a source of pointers to *primary* sources. The academician's interest in showcasing their wide-reading to promote their professorial ambitions provides an activist-researcher those useful pointers to primary material. In our resort to this principle we do not just look for pointers to primary material but also take note of deductions made in the academician's works for possible deconstruction.

These stated principles are then situated within a fourth principle which is *a philosophy of history* that guides in tracing the dynamics at play in the given period from the received data. On our part the materialist conception of history or historical materialism serves this function of a philosophy of history in this book. This means viewing the collected data through the eyes of the class struggle as the *immediate* manifestation of the *fundamental* interactions within and between the complexes of modes of production in the society.

In the presentation of our research findings, therefore, we focus on mapping out Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's intellectual development as evidenced by his own writings, speeches and actions as well as credible claims by persons close to him within the parameters of the class struggle. Conclusively, we portray his *difficulties* but not so-called *shortcomings* while engaged in the international and national class struggles in combat with colonialism and forces of the domestic bourgeoisification process in Ghana and Africa.

This is a critical presentation that seeks not only to appreciate the *difficulties* that Dr. Nkrumah encounters in his application of the principles of Marxism to the African reality in his execution of the international and national class struggles in Africa. It also seeks to track down specific principles of thought generated in his mind out of gathered experiences from dealing with the *African reality* to evolve Marxism-Nkrumaism as a specific ideologico-philosophical system for the analysis and guidance of African society.

This system is then critically appraised to develop it.

In this undertaking we depart from the academic and scholarly practice of Ivory Towerism that sits the academician and scholar in majestic pontification on *what*

should have been done while they sit there providing *no* practical programmes for the final liberation and reconstruction of Mother Africa. Ours is to develop on our bequest to render Marxism-Nkrumaism a more powerful scientific tool for the diagnosis of Africa's ailments to raise this continent from its position of subservience to the status of independent actor.

To this end we propose a programmatic framework to wage the anti-neo-colonial struggle against imperialism and capitalism to evolve a socialist African society under the guidance of Marxism-Nkrumaism ... History fills the mind. It must also fill the stomach.

PART ONE – EVOLUTION OF A MARXIST PAN-AFRICANIST

CHAPTER ONE

In the Manger of the Mystic and the Rational

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah is delivered into an environmental manger of a society not only dominated by a foreign power but also where local resistance to that power already has a history of its own in protection of indigenous land resources. This struggle takes place in the surrounding of an indigenous culture besieged by that of the foreign power. The latter's culture is consciously promoted, as a means of internalizing acquiescence to that foreign domination in the indigenous mind, in supplement to the use of physical force.

In that environmental manger, Dr. Nkrumah inherits the history of resistance which he then develops in its use of the technique of *mass struggle* applied before the dawn of the 20th century. But this is not without going through the contradictory process of cultural training *simultaneously* in the hands of indigenous traditional nurturing and Euro-Christian education by agents of the colonizing power. In this chapter, we see Dr. Nkrumah's state of orientation shaped by *that* process before he leaves to study abroad in 1935.

This definition of his orientation requires a brief historical survey of the pre-colonial landscape and the colonization process in the 19th century. That portrayal aids our understanding of the evolution of British colonial policy which determines the *nature* of the forms of resistance offered by our anti-colonial forces. Such historically evolved forms of resistance are thus observed as the basic arsenal marshalled by African political actors in the 20th century to restore political power to Africans across the continent ... for starters.

Dr. Nkrumah, as one of such political actors, gloriously emerges as a bearer-developer of African tradition and culture in a historical statement of the African Personality underscored by the African Genius within the fine ideologico-philosophical frame of Marxism-Nkrumaism – the weapon of Revolutionary Pan-Africanism for the finalization of the liberation struggle – worked out from his learned persuasion that Africa's cultural crucible must be the receptacle within which the Islamo-Euro-Christian experiences are digested.

That is, if the de-colonization as well as the de-neo-colonization of the *African mind and economy* as well as *socio-political institutions* are very truly to be a reality of our African existence.

1
Land and Culture in the Pre-Colonial Era

The total land area of Ghana is 237,873 sq. km. It is peopled by several majority and minority ethnicities which are also referred to as nationalities that exist as autonomies during the pre-colonial era. Its history at the time is characterized by the dominance of *land* collectively owned as the most important means of production.[15] The prevailing mode of production, by which the entire population lives primarily through shifting hoe cultivation and fallowing,[16] is regarded as egalitarian with humanistic values.[17]

That mode of production, in its exactness, is characterised as one of communalism which, in each of the independent ethnicities, is at either its middle or last stage of development.[18] Prof. Ansa Asamoa explains that that mode of production in the pre-colonial past operates 'according to the law of subsistence rather than the law of value'.[19] By this he means that though the peasant produces over his subsistence and sells the surplus product (i.e. produces *exchange value*) that does not negate the pervading law of subsistence.[20]

In this section we trace the development of subsistence production in terms of land use and ownership; the organization of labour; how this labour organization generates produce over and above the level required for sheer subsistence; how the surplus produce in food production in turn generates a social division of labour that opens the way to trading activities and markets; the consequence of these activities being the emergence of

[15]Asamoa, Ansa, *Socio-Economic Development Strategies of Independent African Countries – The Ghanaian Experience*, Ghana Universities Press, Accra, 1996, pp. 13-14

[16] Ibid. p. 2

[17]Botwe-Asamoah, Kwame, *Kwame Nkrumah's Politico-Cultural Thought and Policies – An African-Centered Paradigm for the Second Phase of the African Revolution*, Routledge, New York & London, 2005, (PDF) p. x

[18] Ansa Asamoa, op. cit., p. 13

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid. p. 16 In his view the scope of exchange value is too limited. This suggests that a capitalist economy, which operates by the law of value, is not yet developed at the time.

trade routes connecting communities that develop into growing kingdoms and empires.

By this process we observe the cultural dynamics[21] derived from the operation of the law of subsistence as it develops and gives way to the law of value that begins to transform the communal mode of production. The said transformation is seen to issue in a nascent evolution of private property not only in ownership of the produce harvested within the communal system but now also in the ownership of land. The dialectic of the individual's right to land *use* and the land's communal *ownership* runs through the narrative.

These processes greatly help us appreciate the enormousness of Dr. Nkrumah's task of terminating the budding bourgeoisification centuries later. For, that trend takes its roots from a *historically-developed* indigenous antecedent predisposition towards private property accumulation. Maxims very reflective of this pre-colonial development are replete in the language of the Akan, for instance. Our collective appreciation of the dynamics of such processes assures scientific applications leading us out to socialist revolution.

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During the pre-colonial era when agriculture is the occupation of the entire population, as stated, land serves as the most important means of production which is collectively owned.[22] Prof. Kwame Gyekye confirms this pattern of ownership when he states that 'land, a fundamental property in African societies, is communally owned'.[23] According to Lt-Col R. H. Rowe, 'land which apparently is "individually owned" is merely occupied by the individual during his lifetime and reverts to the Tribe, Stool or family on his death'.[24]

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[21] This, therefore, goes beyond the kind of Asante economic history provided in, say, Gareth Austin, *Land, Labour and Capital in Ghana – From Slavery to Free Labour in Asante 1807-1956*, University of Rochester Press, 2005, (PDF).

[22] Asamoa, Ansa, *Socio-Economic Development Strategies of Independent African Countries – The Ghanaian Experience*, Ghana Universities Press, Accra, 1996, pp. 13-14

[23] Gyekye, Kwame, *African Cultural Values – An Introduction*, Sankofa Publishing Company, Accra, Ghana, 1993, p. 96

[24] Austin, Gareth, *Land, Labour and Capital in Ghana – From Slavery to Free Labour in Asante 1807-1956*, University of Rochester Press, 2005, (PDF) p. 340. Lieutenant-Colonel R. H. Rowe was the Surveyor-General of the Gold Coast from 1920 to 1927. So that even in the 20th century the practice holds on.

Capt. R. S. Rattray is emphatic in stating that 'individual ownership in land was literally unknown'.[25] So also does Prof. Gyekye confirm this in saying that 'an individual *cannot* personally own a portion of the clan or ancestral land'.[26] But he apparently contradicts this when he asserts the possibility 'for an individual to hold private property in land'. Of course, he does not provide evidence to this effect. He rather seeks to do that through pointing out that land belonging to the *clan* or *lineage* is not *public* but *private*.[27]

This assertion of a clan's *communal*[28] land not being *public*[29] but *private* is not merely a matter of semantics. It is one of a mix-up in *historical periodization* in the evolution of private property in land.[30] For, indeed, land in historical space and time *later* becomes an object subject to an individual's ownership through various means. What appears to lead to this mix-up is that Prof. Gyekye contrasts clan or lineage land property with the land property that the clan or lineage owns *together* with *other* clans or lineages.

He, therefore, sees a clan's or lineage's own land as *private* and the land of the *community* to which that clan belongs as *public*. It is in this sense that he converts a clan's land, which he admits to be communally owned, into a private property[31]; though not a private property of an *individual*

[25] Ibid. p. 126

[26] Gyekye, op. cit., p. 97 Italics added. Here the clan land is seen as a *communal* land.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid. p. 97 That Prof. Gyekye understands clan lands as communal lands is clearly illustrated in this cited page thus: 'It is true ... that land, a fundamental property in African societies, is *communally owned*. The chief or the head of the *lineage* or *clan* is the custodian of the land. His position is that of a trustee, holding the land for the clan or the whole community (village or town). He is invested with the power to manage and administer the *communal property*, but he is under an obligation to do so in the interests of the members of the community or lineage (clan), all of whom also have a title or right to claim ownership of the land itself.' This shows that whether at the level of the clan or lineage or the community or village or town the principle of *communal land ownership* applies.

[29] Ibid. 154 Here, he uses 'communal' and 'public' interchangeably, i.e., as equivalents in the last paragraph. And, thus, compounds the mix-up.

[30] Ibid. 155 Here, he is in *doubt* as to whether private property has always been in African society or that it evolves. His exact words are that '*It cannot be said with certainty when* in the history of the economic development of the African society the concept of private property was fully accepted. *Perhaps it has always been there*, originally in some *embryonic* form, gradually gaining recognition as an economic concept. The right to own private property in time came to be recognized and protected in the African society'. Italics added.

[31] See ibid. p. 176 where he once again implies clan property to be communal property when he distinguishes it from private property in the process of saying that 'Africans seek and put high value on wealth, both private and family (clan).' Here the latter ceases to be private. Moreover, at p. 45, on two occasions he refers to the 'community' as 'group' or 'clan'. Such inconsistent usages create problems as to where he really stands. At one page a clan is an private property

person. To reinforce this concept of the clan's or lineage's land *as private property* he goes on to depict it as 'corporate ownership' in the *capitalist* but not *communalist* sense of the word 'corporate'.[32] This is truly derived from his seeing *mysterious* 'capitalistic ... elements' *in* communal African society.[33]

Prof. Gyekye's failure to introduce *capitalist* private property in *land* into the pre-colonial African society requires an explanation of the *use* of land that creates the false impression of *capitalist* land ownership therein. That account compels the need to clarify that by 'pre-colonial history' we distinguish *within* that era between the periods *before* the *emergence* of chieftaincy and its *establishment* (state formation) prior to the European arrival on the one hand; and between that whole era and colonialism on the other hand.[34]

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Literature on land *ownership* before the institution of chieftaincy appears slim on the continent.[35] The acephalous (stateless) society that precedes state formation under chieftaincy appears to have disappeared in the forest zone in

owner. At the next it is communal.

[32] Ibid. 97 In fact, what Prof. Gyekye does here is to erroneously *import* into communal society the *capitalist* meaning of being 'corporate' which latter also has its *communalist* meaning of being 'communal'. He is historically mistaken to apply the *capitalist* meaning here since the *law of value* which defines the operation of capitalism is not operational in a communal society that runs on the *law of subsistence*.

[33] Ibid. p. 176 Prof. Gyekye appears to see *any* private property type as a *capitalist* property even where the *law of value* does not operate. That he sees 'capitalistic elements' in an *individual's* accumulation efforts from *that* individual's *solo* exertion of his/her *own labour* within a society ruled by the *law of subsistence* rather than by the *law of value* exhibits his mechanistic/non-dialectical appreciation of the socio-historical process. For, how could one see *capitalism* (exploitation of the labour of *others*) in the middle half of the *subsistence communal* economy of the pre-colonial era when the exploitation of others' labour *is not yet* the rule? It is *inappropriate* to employ such capitalistic *renditions* of concepts like 'corporate' at that time. Only within capitalism (where *exploitation* of the labour of *others* is the rule) would it click. In this respect, James Weeks, in the introduction to his *The Law of Value and the Analysis of Underdevelopment* (1998), states that it is *only* in the period of capitalism that the law of value *prevails*. Historiographical cautiousness, bearing *periodization* in mind, is here required of our dear Professor.

[34] Such periodization is not often observed by scholars. It enables us see the *transition* from communalism to semi-feudalism and its consequences for land ownership.

[35] At HTTP://CRAWFURD.DK/AFRICA/GHANA_TIMELINE.HTM we also read: 'Similar to most of Africa, the history of pre-colonial Ghana is not known in complete details. This is due to years of neglect from colonisers and western historians, but also has to do with the nature of traditional African storytelling, which is oral (not written). Furthermore there has only been a limited amount of archaeological finds.'

the 15th century although in the coastal zone of Ghana it still exists during that time among the Ga, Adangbe[36] and Ewe. In the northern half of Ghana, evidence of many such societies is replete. By the close of the 19th century such acephalous societies evolve or are absorbed[37] into chieftaincies.[38]

Marijke Steegstra, for instance, states that the Krobo (Klo) of the Adangbe are said to occupy the Krobo Mountain from around the 14th century when they establish the first series of settlements made up of 'small groups' between then and the 17th century.[39] Veit Arlt also refers to 'the transformation of the Dangme and Ewe states (sic) from priestly to chiefly rule.'[40] It is not until the first half of the 19th century that they have their first paramount chiefs in Konor Odonkor Azu at Manya and Konor Ologo Patu at Yilo.[41] Until then the settlements have priests (*Djemeli*) as clan heads.[42]

The Chakali, like the Konkomba and many other ethnic entities in northern Ghana, similarly bear an acephalous social system in the pre-colonial era. H. S. Daannaa, in his *The Acephalous Society and the Indirect Rule System in Africa: British Colonial Administrative Policy in Retrospect* 1994, gives us quite graphic details of how the Chakali acephalous system operates until the inception of the colonial system which incorporates them into Wala

[36] The Adangbe are variously referred to as 'Dangbe' or 'Dangme' indiscriminately. In this book, as is the practice of the indigenes, we use 'Adangbe' or 'Dangbe' in reference to the *people* and 'Adangme' or 'Dangme' to refer to their *language*. The literature on the Ga, Adangbe and Ewe people is not unanimous as to the acephalous or cephalous nature of their systems. Some even place them in-between as 'theocracies'.

[37] That is, *forcibly* into existing chieftaincies through the Indirect System of Rule of the British administration.

[38] That is, 'state societies'.

[39] Steegstra, Marijke, *Dipo and the Politics of Culture in Ghana*, Woeli Publishing Services, Accra Newtown, Ghana, 2005, pp. 30-31, 77. Viet Arlt has the same information at Chapter 2 p. 52 in the reference immediately cited below where, at p. 77, he describes 'Krobo Mountain … as the cradle and centre of Krobo society'.

[40] Arlt, Veit, *Christianity, Imperialism and Culture – The Expansion of the Two Krobo States in Ghana, c. 1830 to 1930*, Basel, 2005, p. 9. See Steegstra, op. cit., pp. 76-86

[41] Steegstra op. cit., pp. 58 and 46, 76-86

[42] See Arlt Veit, op. cit., Chapters 2 and 3 for the historical narrative.

chieftaincy.[43] Like the Krobo they are led by clan elders and 'earthpriests'.[44]

Prof. Awedoba refers to the Konkomba as living in small villages and autonomous settlements 'lacking in centralized organization and native rulers' and, therefore, have no paramountcies in the pre-colonial era.[45] What semblance of authority they have then is vested in 'elders of the lineage whose members were first to settle in the area'. There are also earthpriests from a different lineage. But although the elders and earthpriests control 'ritual sanctions', they are not rulers and command no obedience from the people.[46]

Like the Konkomba, the Ga are projected by Encyclopedia.com as developing 'from a series of contiguous settlements formed at different times by different peoples who developed a coherent but flexible sense of Ga identity'. Upon their arrival they either displace or intermarry with the Kpeshi people. It states that they have been living in southern Ghana for over thousand years although it does not know the date of their earliest settlement. All the same, by the 15th century they are flourishing.[47]

Rev. Carl Christian Reindorf[48] corroborates this story about the Ga and Kpeshi. But he also has difficulties with the dating.

TO BE CONTINUED

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[43] Daannaa, op. cit., pp. 4 and 9 where we see that the Chakali are placed under the Wala of Wa, their former friendly neighbouring state society, whose new authority they resist. See also Awedoba, A. K., *The Peoples of Northern Ghana*, 22/5/2006, p. 9 where the Chakali acknowledge Gonja rule. This apparent conflict between the two accounts appears to stem from the Wala-Gonja Wars during which some people of Chakali take refuge under the Gonja who, according to Awedoba, have 'a resident Gonja Chief living among them'. According to Daannaa, the Wala, who also have a resident Chief among the Chakali on Chakaliland, tend to abuse their power over the Chakali (op. cit. p. 20).

[44] Awedoba, op. cit., p. 2

[45] Awedoba A. K., op. cit., p. 5

[46] Ibid. Today, the Konkomba have paramountcies.

[47] http://www.encyclopedia.com/topic/Ga.aspx

[48] Carl C. Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast and Asante – Based on Traditions and Historical Facts, Comprising a Period of more than Three Centuries from about 1500 to 1860*

AN EXPERIMENTAL AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATIVE OF WORKER-OWNERS IN PROGRESS

By

Lang T.K.A. Nubuor

Picture 1

The Liberty Ayivi Memorial Mango Plantation (LAMMP) is an experimental mango plantation initiated by the Centre for Consciencist Studies and Analysis (CENCSA).

The experiment is a non-sponsored independent agro-industrial undertaking by persons who are building themselves into collective owners of the plantation.

Management of the plantation is collectively undertaken. As a result proceeds are equally shared after all previous and projected expenses are deducted.

Three persons are currently involved: a Lead Organizer, a Marketing Organizer and Plantation Organizer.

While the Lead Organizer plays the role of a Theoretical Adviser and Funds Raiser, the Plantation Organizer sees to freeing the plantation of weeds and insects as well as pruning the trees to health.

The Marketing Organizer proposes marketing strategies and tactics and leads in carrying out of all those strategies and tactics upon approval.

Processes on the plantation are projected to be of the organic type and have been so initially. Difficulties in funds mobilization, however, have temporarily meant a use of agro-chemicals. This is again to be reversed to organic farming.

By the programme mapped out for LAMMP, agro-processing facilities are to be erected on the plantation for the processing of the mango into finished products for distribution on the African continent, with the surplus being exported to the other continents.

Funds for those facilities are to be derived from LAAMP's independent activities on the plantation. Loans-taking for projects is excluded although voluntary contributions are welcome.

The rational underlining this experiment is the mobilization and organization of the rural youth to stay on in the countryside for involvement in self-generating enterprises co-ordinated within a single organizational set-up.

Central to this endeavour is the return of farmland to the dispossessed youth who are forced by their circumstance to troop to the cities and towns to engage in unrewarding menial jobs.

In the pictures attached here, we present snapshots of activities on the LAMMP.

The picture with planted maize among the trees (Picture 1) shows the Plantation Organizer's effort to feed him and family. In the course of development, additional Plantation Organizers shall be similarly involved for similar purposes. Currently, the 12-acre plantation is too large for his singular effort.

The next two pictures (Picture 2 and Picture 3) respectively show the Lead Organizer (Lang) and the Marketing Organizer (Dedo) on their way to the LAMMP on Saturday, November 30 2015.

The next picture (Picture 4) shows that part of the plantation that is yet to be weeded before the harmattan sets in full-swing.

The Plantation Organizer (Kwesi) is next seen with the Marketing Organizer (Picture 5). The last picture (Picture 6) shows the Lead Organizer together with the Marketing Organizer, his loving and adorable wife.

We Remain Focused, Determined and Bold!
Forward Ever!
Onward to the African Revolution!

* For a parallel but mature development check the following link: htpp://www.ownershipassociates.com/mcc-intro.shtm.

Picture 2

Picture 3

Picture 4

Picture 5

Picture 6

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Matters Arising

1. KOFI MAWULI KLU ON THE WAY FORWARD

(Compiled from Facebook virtually unedited)

KOFI MAWULI KLU ON THE ROLE OF PROGRESSIVE FORCES IN DRIVING THE CPP TO HELP MOVE AFRIKA ON BEYOND THE ANTI-NKRUMAH GANGSTERISM OF NEOCOLONIALISM AND ITS FOURTH REPUBLICAN PSEUDO-DEMOCRACY IN GHANA:

One of the most important things we have to move forward now in doing to more effectively expose, challenge and counteract the Fourth Republican Consensus of gangsteric marginalisation of our pro-Nkrumah Bastion of Pan-Afrikan Liberation in mainstream politics in Ghana today is to rally our various groups, centres and networks at home and abroad into an autonomous array of concentric circles around the officially registered Convention People's Party (CPP)!

We do not have to agree with everything the new, seemingly more willing-to-be-inclusive and promisingly refreshing leadership of the CPP in Ghana is saying and doing before we give it our CRITICAL SUPPORT.

Professor Delle as the new Chairman appears to be very welcoming to all pro-Nkrumah forces, and I know Nii Akomfrah, the new General Secretary, to be very willing to engage in meaningfully constructive Consciencist Dialogue with all progressive forces with a view to strengthening unity of our Positive Action.

Youth guards in quest of Nkrumaist orientation in resolving the everyday problems of life in Ghana today, such as Emmanuel Nat Doku and others championing Food Sovereignty, Permaculture and Environmental Justice, deserve our advice, guidance and all other forms of support.

Responding to overtures from some Activists of the Forum of Nkrumaist Thought and Action (FONTA), the Global Afrikan People's Parliament in United Kingdom (GAPP-UK) is including the CPP on its Global Afrikan Family Reunification Agenda, involving participation in the Groundup International Solidarity Action for a Pro-Nkrumah Alternative in Ghana, and connecting this to its networking collaboration with others making similar efforts under the banner of the All-Afrikan People's Global Lobby for Unity Solutions (AAPGLUS).

For, helping to put the CPP in government, at the heart of a true pro-Nkrumah Alternative in Ghana, is being seen by resurgent Pan-Afrikan Liberation forces throughout the diaspora of Afrika

as vital to securing, from the African Union (AU) and its Pan-African Parliament (PAP), the long desired Pan-Afrikan Reparatory Justice Law of Holistic Rematriation/Repatriation, guaranteeing the Sankofa restoration of their sacred birthright to Mother Afrika, in good time before the end of the current United Nations Decade for People of Afrikan Descent.

We must therefore seize the time now to advance in building our PRINCIPLED UNITY in such way and manner of purposeful global unification in rich diversity as will enable the harmonisation of our various efforts, like drops of water trickling from all over the continent and diaspora of Afrika, indeed from all over the World, into a mighty torrential ocean of pro-Nkrumah dynamism, in order to utilise the CPP in popular democratic mobilisation for sweeping clean the stables of increasingly corrupt Ghana and thereby pave the way to its global transformation from an enemy zone through a contested one into one of the liberated stepping stones to the total Nkrumaist victory of our Pan-Afrikan World Revolution.

We must be guided in this by what Explo correctly wrote about taking into account concrete reality in determining creatively our way forward in Ghana and Afrika today. Lang's point about doing things in consonance with concrete projects of production to give material substance to Changemaking ideas and practices must focus us upon not only what Amilcar Cabral said people are fighting for but also upon Osagyefo Kwame Nkrumah's axiom about the necessity for the dialectical unity of revolutionary theory and practice.

We also have a lot to learn from the living developing experience of Jeremy Corbyn and the Labour Party unfolding in the United Kingdom today, particularly in connection with the independent social movement building strategy and tactics that have given rise to the increasingly formidable Momentum as the grassroots driving force of his groundup campaign for radical change in harmony with party renewal efforts.

For, ultimately, the most decisive thing will be not what accounts and interpretations we give to various episodes and phases in the vicissitudes, ebbs and flows of the story of Ghana, important as they may be, but rather the practical things we think and do creatively in effecting revolutionary Change!

The decisive point is actual revolutionary Change-making!

The Fourth Republic of Ghana is one of the most regressive disasters that our contemporary generations have visited upon and are still heinously imposing, by our actions and inactions, upon the increasingly dispossessed, super-exploited and impoverished masses of our Afrikan people at home and abroad.

We, who were given so rich a Legacy of Pan-Afrikan Freedomfighting by our predecessors, with some of the most

valuable lessons to learn from the spectacular successes, failures and challenges of the past, appear to be recklessly squandering most of the golden opportunities to better advance the Action Learning progression of our Liberation Struggle forward ever.

The stinking disastrous mess of the Fourth Republic of Ghana, which is adding to the increasing danger of the Genocide/Ecocide of the escalating Maangamizi wiping away our chances of Afrikan survival, is ours to tackle; and we must take full responsibility and not renege and try to push our duties onto the shoulders of other generations; seeking to hide our disgrace in the empty rhetorics and posturings of Elitist Radicalism; seeking to cover up the Neocolonialism of decadent Capitalism, to the predatory serial gang-raping of which Ghana has been cruelly surrendered in disgusting cowardice by the Black-Skin-White-Masked quislings of Euro-Amerikkkan Imperialism, with its ramshackles of perverted bourgeois Pseudo-Democracy!

Yes, let us strengthen the CPP with our autonomous concentric circles of progressive forces taking, as Cabral called them, our combat posts of battle-readiness around it; so that it can become once again one of the strongest central pillars of Freedomfighting to advance in Ghana our Pan-Afrikan Revolution to its resounding socialist orientated victory of Global Justice for all.

Odododiodio! Amandla Ngawethu! Forward ever onward to Victory!

- Mawukofi

Thanks for all the positive responses! Now is the time to start rallying our progressive forces at home and abroad to raise higher the profile and might of the CPP on the mainstream political scene in Ghana for and beyond 2016 in such a Pan-Afrikan way as to galvanize the reinvigoration of our Freedomfighting armies throughout the continent and diaspora of Afrika.

The CPP can do even better than the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) now rocking South Africa. We must halt the NDC-NPP game of neoliberal capitalist merry-go-round inside the doldrums of Neocolonialism at the beck and call of Euro-Amerikkkan Imperialism and to the detriment of the impoverished masses of our Afrikan people in Ghana.

Very uplifting to hear supportive voices include those of Zaya Yeebo, Kwame Aboagye and Emmanuel Nat Doku.

We shall mobilise Internationalist Solidarity for the proposed alliance of the CPP and the TUC and all other genuine patriotic forces to resist further hiking of utility prices and wanton

privatization of public assets and community resources in Ghana.

This must include resisting worsening Debt Bondage, privatization of education and resort to PFI/PPP schemes (check websites of Jubilee Debt Campaign, Global Justice Now and People versus PFI for more information).

The growing resistance to Austerity in Britain, led by Jeremy Corbyn at the head of the Labour Party, reinforced by Momentum, and similar efforts all over Europe, the Americas and Asia, is swelling the ranks of our anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist forces rising up for Global Justice all over the World.

We must redynamize our great CPP and retool it to effectively spearhead drawing the rebellious masses of our Ghanaian people into this increasing Global Justice Resistance.

Just let us know how we can help effectively from abroad and we shall strive to do our best.

Forward ever!

- Mawukofi

Kofi Mawuli Klu Responding to Kwame Yeboah:

Yes, Kwame Yeboah, to help you, please first take good time and diligently read what I wrote more carefully to "overstand" it fully, as we say it here at our Afrikan Heritage Community grassroots in Britain!

I am more than ever now convinced that the CPP can become a key part of a true pro-Nkrumah Alternative in Ghana, indeed an indispensable part of it, particularly with the helm now in the hands of the faithfully persevering likes of Nii Akomfrah, a well-known colleague having "KNCPP Experience" together with his brilliantly adorable mother with us here in Britain some time ago.

We mean having to pool our human and all other necessary resources together at home and abroad in principled Unity to progress our working hard for such an alternative; because it will not fall into our laps like manna from heaven; we have to work together glocally hard at home and abroad, to make it happen!

This cannot be done successfully in good time as urgently necessary by the very small, mostly unconnected, and often competing little groups of Nkrumaist radicals only by themselves, in isolation from the masses of Nkrumah-loving people who still hope the CPP will return home to roost for them.

We have to come together to make it happen, not necessarily by all such groups dissolving into the CPP, but coming around it while retaining their organisational autonomy.

This is nothing new in the CPP experience - because the Committee of Youth Organisations (CYO) facilitated by Osagyefo Kwame Nkrumah acted as such to radicalise the mass base of the UGCC until it eventually gave birth to the CPP!

Similar developments have and are still happening with the Labour Party in the United Kingdom, yielding spectacular historic gains such as the new radical leadership of Jeremy Corbyn and the emergence of Momentum!

I did not have to join the full membership of the Labour Party, only had to sign up, like many others, simply as an ordinary Supporter, in order to add my vote to those which gave Jeremy Corbyn his landslide victory with a clear mandate to shift Labour to the Left!

Many of those Leftists who, even for quite valid reasons, doubted Jeremy Corbyn could do it and waited for things to unfold, are now joining and swelling the membership ranks of the British Labour Party in order to strengthen its Leftward shift.

Relating this to Ghana, therefore, this means forming ourselves into a pro-Nkrumah Working Coalition of the Willing to help the likes of Nii Akomfrah in accelerating such work that has already began. - with the clear understanding that not all have to begin together; the doubting Thomases can still keep on waiting till those who dare to venture first give the CPP their best Nkrumaist revolutionary shots!

Regardless of whatever happens, and yes, it is going to be rough, stormy and challenging throughout, we would have tried, and come again to keep trying again and again, until we completely take back either the whole or the best parts of the CPP for Osagyefo Kwame Nkrumah! Forward Ever! There shall be Victory for Us!

- Mawukofi

Kofi Mawuli Klu Responding to Andy Kwawukume:

Each of us is entitled to his/her opinion!

I believe we cannot just be wishing in the clouds for a radical alternative to what the CPP is now.

The key question you are not seen to be practically addressing is how to build the "radical pro-Nkrumah front" many of us are yearning for!

The didactic example of Jeremy Corbyn and the renewing Labour Party, and the independent Momentum social movement forming around it from the various autonomous Left-Wing groups that have long been challenging the Right Wing inside and outside the Labour movement even during the Blairite nightmare, gives us a good clue as to how to get even the most degenerate parties formed with Social Justice aims and objectives back on progressive track.

Kwame Nkrumah himself did something similar with the UGCC which paved the way for the emergence of the CPP out of that cradle.

Yes, the Osagyefo decried the weaknesses of the CPP and planned for building an AAPRP before and after the reactionary coup d'etat of 24th February 1966; but surely, he kept on working with what was left of the CPP even in exile towards such a goal!

He never stated anywhere that the CPP had no role to play in the development of the AAPRP!

Waiting for the unity of all parties in Ghana claiming to be for Nkrumah to happen first in order to gather strength for radical change is a futile wishful thinking!

Only a progressive Coalition of the Willing can realistically kick-start the process of building a radical pro-Nkrumah United Front for genuine popular democratic Change-making to wrest power from the quislings of Euro-Amerikkkan Imperialism and completely eradicate Neocolonialism in pursuit of total Pan-Afrikan Liberation for the socialist achievement of Global Justice!

It is absolutely incorrect to see everybody in the current Leadership of the CPP in Ghana as insincere and lacking Nkrumaist credentials. I personally have faith in Nii Akomfrah, whom I know through working several years with him here in London, United Kingdom, to do his best to move things forward in the correct direction.

Of course, we all have our strengths and weaknesses, including me, you, Nii Akomfrah and everybody else; and that is why we all need all those willing to pool our human and all other resources together in progressing the CPP forward.

Most of the groups and networks at home and abroad in which I am functioning, including the FONTA, the NKRUMAHBUSUAFO, the PARCOE and the Global Afrikan People's Parliament in United Kingdom (GAPP-UK), are prepared to contribute to the regeneration of the pro-Nkrumah movement in and beyond Ghana in accordance with shared aims and objectives.

This is what shapes my own standpoint of Pan-Afrikan Internationalist proactivity on this matter. History will decide

the correctness of the decisions each and every one of us makes; and I am hopeful History will absolve the likes of me on this crucial matter!

- Mawukofi

__._._.___

Posted by: Kofi Klu <mawusafo@yahoo.com> 22 Oct. 2015

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2. EXPLO NANI-KOFI'S REFLECTIONS AND ADVOCACY OF NETWORKING

(Compiled from Facebook virtually unedited)

Explo Nani-Kofi with Stephen Glala and 6 others.

2 hrs · London, United Kingdom · Edited ·

REFLECTIONS

Today I want to reflect on advice giving me by my brother, Joe Atiso.

I knew Joe Atiso from afar using my student days at Mawuli School when he coached the school basket ball team.

Later in 1980, sometime ago, I was told by the Katanga chief porter that the military intelligence (MI) was on campus looking for me so I should lie low.

That same day I met Eli Sabblah who told that it was Joe Atiso who had come from Ho to see me about the launching of the June 4 Movement in Ho and that it isn't the MI.

I first met Atiso face to face at Ho Mother's Inn a social place for food and drinks owned by a colleague, Agabus, when Kofi Kpatakpa, Kwame Adjimah and I were in Ho for a clean up exercise.

Kwame Adjimah visited him a number of times.

Later in 1981, I heard Joe Atiso had been arrested and was in prison as a coup suspect. Lo behold, Joe came out when the coup took place on 31st December 1981, and all former coup plotters became participants in the Holy War. It is my exile days that I got to know that Atiso and Kotoka were the main contacts of the 31st coup plotters at Ho Medium Mortar Regiment.

When some of us were framed up as trying to overthrow the Rawlings government and imprisoned but fortunate to escape from detention it ended my relationship with the so-called 31st process. Joe and others remained with the

process and even when we were escaping they were the ones in action arresting us if they were able to get us. My friend Kwame Adjimah was unfortunately arrested. He was murdered at Air Force by Agoha and others according Tamakloe who took the arrested to Accra. Because of the way I publicise things some don't want to repeat what they have told me so I'll keep those that people don't want to repeat to myself for now.

Joe was a member of the organising team of the first successful Kilombo Conference in Ho in September 2012. I add successful because the first planned conference would have been in Peki in 2011, in lieu of which, we had the Grassroots Kwame Nkrumah Memorial Lectures on 2nd July 2011, chaired by Justice Mante.

Joe didn't attend the 2nd and 3rd conferences. Joe spoke with me and said that I should deceiving myself that there was an organisation and that he didn't want to continue such a deceit. He also told me that he had spoken with two people involved with Kilombo and advised them to stop making a fool out of me and that they had both worked had their end of service settlements, and that all what I have been involved in is this struggle for social justice and that they should advise me to think about the future and my well being. He told me that he wants to talk to me as a senior brother and not as a member of any fantasy organisation.

Far away in London, this morning, I reflect on the words of my brother.

I learnt a lot about reality in Ghana which none can see from far away.

Even a person like me born in Ghana, grew up in Ghana, with all my activism rooted in Ghana can say this so for those who come there on visits or on Internet organising struggle there, a word to the wise is enough.

I take Atiso's words with extreme seriousness.

After 15 October 2008, when I resigned from ALISC Network, it was an effort to end fantasy and rituals as well as denial of reality. If I had become unconscious, Atiso is waking me up.

I have advised my friends in London who are familiar with the making political tapestry in Ghana to acquaint themselves with the works of Emmanuel Hansen. My brother, Ateinda Egema, says that is very useful advice, and I hope others will also find it useful.

I am no longer in the fantasy of returning to Ghana after three decades to accept a fantasy of creating an organisation. I'll spell out exactly what I can do as my way of life as a Counterfire member and be prepared to network on PRACTICAL PROJECTS with whom I find practical common grounds.

As a relocation project I initiated the Kilombo Centre [As Sister Mawete pointed out at LMU on 7 November 2014, Kilombo is not the name of one organisation, there have been Kilombos an there are different Kilombos. I got the name Kilombo from Sister Mawete] as a relocation project. On 2nd July 2011, I launched the pilot programme for Circles of Civilian Collaboration and Assemblies of Civilian Collaboration.

Joe Atiso, I'll seriously consider alongside my future wellbeing and not venture into what I don't have capacity for.

I am consoled by interventions of some from the past like John Opoku and John Daniels as well as solidarity from my colleagues of the June 19 1983 Detention Escape and really happy that Jeremy Corbyn made Ghanaian delegates at the Labour Party conference Isaac Winful Dadzie and Kofii Attor) realise that he has respect for what I do, and finally I am most consoled by my reconciliation with my mentor, Klu. Henceforth, for anything I relate with it is simply as contact of the relocation project and pilot programme. SIMPLE, NOTHING FANTASY.

Top of Form

Like Comment Share

Isaac Winful Dadzie, Zaya Yeebo, Justice Mante and 6 others like this.

Comments

Amma Fosuah Poku I've read and taken note Explo Nani-Kofi

Like · Reply · 2 hrs

Explo Nani-Kofi I said all that in my programme to conference maybe without mentioning names. Sorry, you might have missed the message at conference.

Like · Reply · 1 hr

Write a reply...

John Daniels Very insightful revelation.

Like · Reply · 2 hrs

Explo Nani-Kofi Hmmmnnnn?

Like · Reply · 1 hr

Write a reply...

Explo Nani-Kofi Welcome, my brother, Larry Gbevlo-Lartey. I know you'll be here. How are you?

Like · Reply · 1 hr

Zaya Yeebo Finally I can see the book taking shape.

Like · Reply · 1 hr

Explo Nani-Kofi Which book?

Like · Reply · 1 hr

Zaya Yeebo Your book. You cannot allow this wealth of experience remain unshared.

Like · Reply · 1 hr · Edited

Explo Nani-Kofi My elder brother, Kofi Attorney, says that he is older than me and that even he hasn't put down his experiences for publication yet so he's surprised that I'll want to put down experiences as a book.

Like · Reply · 1 hr

Write a reply...

Explo Nani-Kofi Nice seeing yo here with the posting from the bottom of my heart, Justice Mante John Daniels Larry Gbevlo-Lartey Julius RK SowuAteinda Egema Zaya Yeebo Nana Asante Isaac Winful Dadzie Zippy Vuguz

Like · Reply · 53 mins · Edited

Isaac Winful Dadzie I don't want to believe that Explo is abandoning the idea of building a formidable organization for socio-economic change here in Ghana. Your concept and work in Kilombo could be turned into a Youth study cell in Peki, Ho and other major towns in the country. Atiso may be right with his advice but the feasibility of the emergence of a new power and institutions within the old order and arrangements has been researched and validated in the works of Lang Nubuor in the Journal of Marxism-Nkrumaism and his work on the African Democratic Revolution. Thousands of youth in Ghana are searching for answers to the problems of our system. They are seeing hope in Socialism and are yearning to know more. They need the likes of Explo Nani-Kofi to shed light and direction.

Like · Reply · 1 · 1 hr

Explo Nani-Kofi Maybe you can coordinate what you are talking about here and I can be a contact within the context I have spelt out and we take it from there for networking is strength. I am not a modern day Tarzan of limitless capacity. I have to be real and go on a suicide mission and deceive myself that I am in struggle.

Like · Reply · 1 hr

Julius RK Sowu When one holds an Agbadza dancing competition , those who's spines are stiffened with age must be the judges, along with those who look on from their final bed, the competition is for the young

Like · Reply · 1 · 9 hrs

Explo Nani-Kofi Sure, and this is the point for Isaac Winful Dadzie and all. This is their time.

Like · Reply · 1 · 9 hrs

Write a reply...

John Daniels Explore as I read what friends turned enemies sought to do in the early days of the 31st December and following. I got arrested by one Colonel Djambah who was the Commander of the ,,4th Battalion of Infantry in Kumasi just about a week before the 19th June uprising which saw your release. That was my first and only encounter with a military barracks talk true drill. We were given a fair share of the eventualities and I saw my blood. Something interesting happened And I think I owe my life partly to this day to that man. Wherever he is I salute him. Just about the time I was virtually going to break down. Something miraculous happened. Explo you remember Joe Pasaasa. That bearded guy who was in Queen's Hall appeared with some C D R members. I think he was the regional or District Secretary to his organisation then. He was a big man. He saw me being punished and he immediately ordered the solders to stop the beatings. He called asked them to release me. In fact I could not wear my socks and all the money on my pocket was gone. When I was set free I walked from the barracks through Okomfo Anokye Hospital through Asafo market to my abode at A sack. Not all the friends who became enemies sought to harm us. Some were still humans. Joe is called Hon. Collins Agyarko Nti. He became a District Secretary /District Commissioner for Konongo and went

on to become the Member of Parliament for that constituency later. I have not seen him since l.hope to meet him one day.. He saved my life because they were going to transport us to Accra by air to do the job on us. Had it not been him maybe l will not have been here to sing to you. I had a lot of info then and it will had been a disaster.

Like · Reply · 2 · 9 hrs

Explo Nani-Kofi Joe Pasasa was in Independence Hall but was one of those affected by Queen's Hall Crisis which became an all university crisis leading to the SRC being virtually run by Katanga J C RC with people like Hon. Joe Amenowode and my cousin, Rabon Zee von Nanimann (now Prof Frank Kofi Nani) were troop commanders as at one time Hon Osei Kyei-Mensah-Bonsu (Katanga Hall President) was Acting SRC President and Explo Nani-Kofi (Katanga Hall Secretary) was Acting SRC Secretary with Osei and I being on the Leaders of Tomorrow Programme on GBC and Kofi Kpatakpa and I were virtually the Queen's Hall AlutaBrigade leading to my exit from UST so I know Joe Pasasa and all the Queen's Hall Altus crowd. What those people in the system did was to close eyes when they don't suffer but rush in to stop it when they find their acquaintances in the same situation. Joe Pasasa wouldn't have done that for everybody. The people who helped me cross the border during June 19 were the same people arrested others who were escaping on June 19 and sent them to be slaughtered. Hymn. . . . .

Like · Reply · 9 hrs · Edited

Joe Amenowode Explo, you have taken me back on memory lane. Those were interesting times and l dare say was a reflection of times to come. I salute. Old soldiers never die.

Like · Reply · 1 · 44 mins

Explo Nani-Kofi You didn't know that I saw everything you did. You remember how you were wild at the Porter's Lodge that Ohene Bonsu fled the SRC Flat and resigned, Efo Joe? You might have forgotten me now that you are big man but I have not forgotten of any of those events.

Like · Reply · 12 mins

Write a reply...

John Daniels Explo I knew Joe will save my life because when he had his problem I took care of him to the best of my ability. I even thought of organising a scholarship fo him but for the change of events. But I still remember what he did for me. I hope I will see him one day..

Like · Reply · 1 · 8 hrs

Explo Nani-Kofi So it was pay back. Not many people return favours in Ghana that easily.

Like · Reply · 8 hrs

Write a reply...

John Daniels Explo I want the man where ever he is to know that I appreciated what he did for me the whole of my life.

Like · Reply · 8 hrs

Explo Nani-Kofi You can go to Konongo to ask of him and I am sure they'll give you the trail.

Like · Reply · 8 hrs

Write a reply...

Socrates de Pragmatist Anytime an attempt on restructuring of society is aborted or defeated by any means, be it psychological or physical attacks, it gives more strength to the status quo, discourages similar attempts and creates the impression that it is the only alternative. let's not forget that the current dominant mode of production and way of doing things was once in minority. Even though you you have considered a lot of issues to arrive at you decision, the decision can be reconsidered. An institution of socialization (soft way of keeping us conformed to the status quo) has been employed and we those in the struggle should know better. It your decision but reconsider

Like · Reply · 1 · 6 hrs

Explo Nani-Kofi Please, read properly. I am not saying that I am giving up. I say I'll no longer do time wasting unproductive things. Read properly.

Like · Reply · 4 hrs

Write a reply...

Opanin Kwabena Antwi Sarpong I have read this post twice, i still dont understand

Like · Reply · 5 hrs

Explo Nani-Kofi I have responded to the query you sent me in box.

Like · Reply · 4 hrs

Write a reply...

Socrates de Pragmatist Seen. As a leader the message should have been more clearer without any hint of ambiguity. The spirit lives.....

Like · Reply · 4 hrs

Write a comment...

December 2 2015

Explo Nani-Kofi with Isaac Winful Dadzie and 3 others.

32 mins · London, United Kingdom ·

WORRIED OR CONFUSED ABOUT REALITY?

I have been told that some people are confused about my reflections which concluded that I am very uncompromising on the issue of fantasy and political rituals masquerading as struggle.

Struggle is carried through by. Human beings and not computer games. For those people calling themselves revolutionaries it should be a way of life and not endless conversations on phone or games on computer screen.

My brother, Vukoni Lupa-Lasaga, who I have never. Met gave us the warning on the importance of strength in and being rooted in the grass root.

All I am saying is my priority of relating with people is determined by organised physical work and presence in the population at large on issues of building an alternative. I respect every support and assistance for they facilitate work but nobody can belittle the practical organisational as most important and it is 24/7.

Last time, I was told that an "organisation" was supporting a demonstration through a note on the web. I asked myself immediately how they were supporting. Many are satisfied with keeping small committees of no membership and strangely taking pride in them as organisations and not even worried that they have no membership.

The struggle should have an engine and since my flirting with J. J. Rawlings resulting in Ghana's Fourth Republic being seen as the second most corrupt country in Africa, I have become very cautious to avoid band wagon jumping and network with people on trust to work in the population at large.
We have lost too many as martyrs in circumstances that we shouldn't have lost them. It is sad when again and again we weep for Kwame Adjimah Kwesi Turkson (Samora), Timothy Zormelo, Delali Yao Klu (Zoonoses) [brother of Kofi Mawuli Klu], Nelson Kakati, Emmanuel Akpese etc.

One security danger we have is when people with no understanding of terrain will not exercise some humility to understand but deceive themselves that they are organising sometimes from computer screens. Thos practically organising and used to the challenges can easily detect that far away as my brother, Vukoni Lupa-Lasaga and also Nsajigwa Sisi Kwa Sisi do. A core of trust of practical organisers is really important. When I was in Press TV, Vuyiswa Ngqobongwana and I talked about my comrade, Andile Mngxi, who I have known face to face since 2004 as an uncompromising land activist and Pan-Africanist. When I was invited to speak in Zimbabwe sometime ago I passed it on to Andile Mngxi and he was a

member of the delegation of grass root activists who went to the World Social Forum in Kenya through SOAS Friends of Africa's campaign of Suport a Grassroots African Activist led by Shantelle George. I initially supported Economic Freedom Fighters earlier because of his involvement and now I fully support Black First Land First. Since 2004, I have developed serious respect for my brother, Andile Mngxi.

I don't know what confused people about my postings on reflections Which received responses interpreting it as abandoning. For me, the struggle is a way of life, so I don't know where abandoning comes in but I am just saying I'll not be a clown for others to toy with. All what I am saying is that I'll clown by punching above my capacity and that I'll do my capacity and that anybody who want to work should come with some work but not some talking laced with computer games and loitering masquerading as struggle. I am tired of endless talking!

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Comments

Razak Issah Sir comrade, I will like to hear from you on some key questions on organization. What do you think and know as the best, if we can have the perfect form of organization. And the aims of such an organization based on concrete activities. We have to produce answers to similar questions like this if we are serious about building the alternative. Different people have different opinions about this alternative, and senior comrades you have to organize hammer out your different. Regardless of what you might be thinking privately people look up to you . You have had a taste of what we want to achieve. As long as you live we have to be left some institutional knowledge in terms of tactics, strategies and insight regarding who to associate with and not. How to weed out opportunists among our ranks. We need some of this guidelines so as to fuse them with the current realities.

Like · Reply ·

Explo Nani-Kofi Maybe I'll disappoint people who look up to me. I am a simple man who is living in such a way that I will not be one of the criminal gangsters who loot the state or front for international capital. I cannot more than my humble postings and gradually building cores of trust to work within the population at large. Try in your own small way to look after yourself as well as aim to do same. As for coming to lead anybody let us put that somewhere.

Like · Reply · 2 mins

Razak Issah It is not a leadership issue. But rather the moral support and the network support and also the accumulated experience you and your other comrades have amassed over the years. There is no middle ground here senior comrade. You make posting and people read them and it inspires them. We are not asking for a resolution, but an invitation for conversation. Every revolutionary organization have a responsibility to the immediate struggle, and also preparing the grounds for the coming generation. The revolutionary tradition must be maintained even if by one person. The tradition must go on if we mean the things we say.

Like · Reply · 2 hrs

Explo Nani-Kofi The only way to show that we mean things we say is to live our lives according to things we say and those living such lives together become a real organisation and not a fantasy. I am always ready for a conversation if I have time because what is most important is how I live my life beside the talk.

Like · Reply · 2 hrs

Razak Issah Thank you sir, now we have an understanding. And a conversation about the way forward is very important. We have to live the revolutionary life, and talking and sharing of ideas builds the bases for a community. We have to talk about the ALTERNATIVE.

Like · Reply · 2 hrs

Explo Nani-Kofi Razak Issah , I have made many postings about an alternative and I even said I was going away from Facebook because I have already said enough and that I need to focus on the practical. In my postings I have narrowed down on specifics to a fault despite the dangers of putting things across on Facebook before we make moves. Some have cautioned that I am saying too much on Facebook and they are correct about my recklessness so far.

Like · Reply · 1 hr

ON ANOTHER LINK

December 1 2015

Explo Nani-Kofi shared Douglas Wagba's post — with Joyce GU and 6 others.

20 hrs ·

GHANA IS SECOND MOST CORRUPT COUNTRY IN AFRICA.

Douglas Wagba

21 hrs ·

Working for you!

Transparency International Ranks Ghana 2nd Most Corrupt Country In Africa ▷ Yen.com.gh

Transparency International's latest report on corruption in Africa indicates that...

YEN.COM.GH|BY YEN.COM.GH

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Like Comment Share

Just Michael likes this.

Comments

Avotri Kwame This is very serious, please someone tell me its not true. God please save Ghanaians the way you saved Nigeria.

Like · Reply · 10 hrs

Explo Nani-Kofi Has Nigeria been saved? I don't wish Boko Haram, the deadliest terrorist organisation in the world, on Ghana as a way of being saved.

Like · Reply · 6 hrs

Write a reply...

Daniel Jerry Kaklaku-Dodou Even as we are battling with CORRUPTION INDEX, GNPC is still paying dubious exgracias, thus Ghana for us

Like · Reply · 4 hrs

Explo Nani-Kofi So long as we keep quiet and look up to the criminal gangsters as mentors and heroes. For me, even my relatives, especially those of your generation, hate And/or disrespect me because I am not one of the criminal gangsters bringing the pork home. They hate my position that we should sacrifice to build another world and these days I fear that they can even easily poison me.

Like · Reply · 4 hrs

Daniel Jerry Kaklaku-Dodou That one I pray against it. To say I will tell you my position that that was exactly my position when I was in NCCE, when directors will sign GHANA's cheque for their own personal gains, when I complain a lot of issues were raised, finally I was suspended with the claim that I changed my name before coming into the commission hence am suspected of using fake CERTIFICATE, they never gave me the opportunity to defend why I changed my name, they went to Koforidua Polytechnic and UCC for verification, yet I was suspended because I stood up against the illegal ways of consuming Ghana's money.

Moneys allocated to offices won't be used for their intended purposes, some Director's will sign and travel on Friday morning and go for weekend.

I feel sad anytime I remember things in NCCE.

GHANA will remain same.

Like · Reply · 2 hrs

Explo Nani-Kofi Who are those Directors? I know that you are a bold man and will give me heir names as they also publicise what you have said here.

Like · Reply · 2 hrs

Daniel Jerry Kaklaku-Dodou One is Kafui Gagakuma who later accused my absence of stealing a computer, the other is Richard Asilevi. there was a time I reported the incidence to GHANA INTEGRITY INITIATIVE (GII) I know they're investigating part of it. Even the 2012 audit report of Kpadu office alone can confirm that to us all. when within 3 months fuel fares alone were extremely high which drew the attention of the then Regional director to send for when my director wasn't around, after making some recommendations, I was transferred from Kpando to Ho whiles I was on my annual leave.

Like · Reply · 1 · 1 hr

Explo Nani-Kofi Great, I hope you are alright with your mentor, Jordan.

Like · Reply · 1 hr

Daniel Jerry Kaklaku-Dodou yes, he is no nonsense man, the only bief he had with me was I introduced a guy to guy to him who took a loan from him and the guy run

way, this man took me on and take the money with more than 3 times the fixed capital, so I got angry on the way as being frustrated I said I won't pay again. That was how we started fighting.

Like · Reply · 51 mins

Explo Nani-Kofi Were you paying Jordan?

Like · Reply · 36 mins

Daniel Jerry Kaklaku-Dodou Yes, I paid jordan several times Explo. there was a time I even took a loan from a woman in Kpeve to pay him and it again generated onto a loan for me there too. the guy took 500 and I paid him 1900

Like · Reply · 1 · 31 mins

Explo Nani-Kofi Daniel Jerry Kaklaku-Dodou , thanks for this fact. Many will not understand me reconsidering not rushing into taking up the issue of building any Ghana-wide organisation. Before I arrived in Ghana my only contacts were for a long time, Kwesi Pratt Jr, Kweku Baako Jr, Osei Kyei-Mensah-Bonsu and then later at the personal level my driver of the PNDC period Felix Dikro (no political content in this relationship), Selassie Mawuenyega, Kosi Dedey and my comrades Ben Adu and Lang Nubuor. Nobody should fabricate into being any organisation link which never existed and that is why after observing and criminally wasting a lot of my time I am back rooted in the grass root of the Afeviwofe community and the Local Organising Committee of the Ghana Street Parliament Pilot Project. I may look blind but I am not. The points I made in box are equally relevant. I have learnt a lot coming back and I see seeing to my security as number one.

Like · Reply · 1 · 18 mins

Daniel Jerry Kaklaku-Dodou Yes that is why sometimes, I decide to be reserved because not all who understand me as I will wish.

Like · Reply · Just now

Explo Nani-Kofi with Baba Abraham Kankani and 38 others.

3 December at 13:52 · London, United Kingdom ·

GHANA.

NETWORKING IS A MUST!

I was surprised when some wondered whether my posting on "Reflection" meant that I was "abandoning the idea of building a formidable organisation for socio-economic change here in Ghana".

The correct word is used here which is "building" instead of "forming". Building starts from a foundation.

In our present situation, there are a number of efforts and initiatives which are all relevant to developing the movement for change.

I have always held the position that networking is strength. What is important is to be decisive and focussed on which pillar of the network you'll contribute from and not be loitering and sniffing all over the place.

Each pillar has its unique selling point (to use that term).

My posting just explains how practically I'll contribute towards the networking.

Even people don't have information, they can google on the net: there are Economic Justice Network, Socialist Forum of Ghana / Freedom Centre, Marxist Study Group in Cape Coast University, Black Heritage, Convention People's Party (CPP), Centre for Consciencist Studies and

Analyses (CENCSA), All African People's Party (AAPRP), 8th PAC & Legacy Project, VAZOBA as well as the Kilombo Centre for Civil Society and African Self-Determination and we are all contributing from different angles.

We have to ensure no re-inventing of wheel or no duplication.
I am just being honest that having been outside for 33 years, I have to begin first with relocation as a member of Counterfire (and activist of the anti-war and anti-austerity movement), then proceed to re-integration through the Assemblies (Circles) of Civilian Collaboration Pilot Project, otherwise I'll repeat past years of fantasy ritual of a suicide mission. Joe Atiso's wake up call is very useful.

I am sure that I have clarified things now enough.

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Like Comment Share

Razak Issah, Teresa Santana and 5 others like this.

Comments

Explo Nani-Kofi Welcome here for networking is a must, Richard Ananga Yao Lloyd D. McCarthy Teresa Santana Razak Issah Adjo Eleesi Bonsi Manni Eche Michael Bekoe

Like · Reply · 1 · 4 hrs · Edited

Teresa Santana Brother Explo always bang on point. I also believe that individual commitment to social transformation can only see its realization through joining with others pursuing the same goals, and one of the best ways of achieving that is by building organisational structures specific to an area of our struggle one is

committed to tackle, so that the organisation or structure has focus, and ensure that networking with those who share the same objectives or sister organisations working and building in different fronts is central to nature of the work one does.

Like · Reply · 2 · 3 December at 15:17

Explo Nani-Kofi Thank you very much, my Leader and Sister Teresa Santana, your encourage, support and guidance is always highly motivating.

Like · Reply · 3 December at 15:25

Razak Issah The idea of network must be given the needed attention. Hardly, can all forces be integrated into my structure. But different networks engaging in related activities that will culminate into the final revolution. However, there is the need for some basic understanding among all these networks along ideological and political lines. We have to strive for ideological homogenization if necessary, but in case we can achieve that we settle for political. Given these understanding and unity, regardless of the place and time we can contribute to the African revolution .

Like · Reply · 3 December at 17:31

Explo Nani-Kofi with Amma Fosuah Poku and 17 others.

8 December at 17:33 · London, United Kingdom ·

33 YEARS AGO!

Today marks 33 years when I spent my full day in military detention at Field Engineers' Guardroom cells which

became my "place of residence" until the Detention Escape and Uprising of 19 June 1983.

On 7 December 1982, the Army Commander, Lt Gen. Arnold Quainoo sent a wireless message to Medium Mortar Regiment Commander, Lt Col. Lamptey that the Chairman of the PNDC, Flt Lt. J. J. Rawlings, has instructed that Explo Nani-Kofi and Kwame Adjimah should be arrested and brought to the Army headquarters under armed guard.

In order to arrest me, I was deceived that I should come to a meeting in the barracks. It was only when I got there and was kidnapped that I knew the reality.

Fortunately for my brother, Kwame Adjimah, he was not in Ho, so he escaped arrest and went to Togo and Nigeria. Unfortunately, Kwame felt the conditions of exile so he returned to Ghana.

I was still in detention. Somebody within the regional administration then made up of Dr. Austin Asamoa Tutu (Regional Secretary), Col. Amable (Deputy Secretary) and John Constant Dei (Regional Coordinator) [I don't know which of them] that Kwame was supposed to be locked up together with me so he should be arrested. Kwame was then arrested also brought to Accra and detained in the prisons.

When the late Dr Ansa Asamoa was contacted about the arrests he said that he doesn't involve himself matters but he ended supervising the re-organising of the regional to purge and institutionalise our state of affairs.

On 19 June 1983, both Kwame and I both escaped from detention trying to escape from Ghana. Sadly, Kwame Adjimah was not able to escape successfully as Komla Dzrakasu, who he thought was his comrade, tipped some soldiers that he was in Kpedze leading to his arrest. The same people we saw as friends were involved in arresting Kwame, Beijing his passport and sending him to Accra, where Sgt. Agoha and his murder squad, which it is rumoured includes one ex-soldier in Ho at present, took him and murdered him.

This always saddens me because, due to lack of experience cadres in the region, I wrote a letters for Kwame Adjimah, Dr Kofi Gafatsi Normanyo and Dr Austin Asamoa Tutu to be released to work with our secretariat in Ho. Dr. Kofi Gafatsi Normanyo was also detained a number of times. I have been wondering whether Kwame would have been in this situation if I didn't get him transferred to Ho.

On 29 June 1983, I successfully crossed into Togo and never visited Ghana again until July 2009.

As Emmanuel Hansen said in his book, the situation was that one had to distant oneself from members of the United Front, which we belonged to to Fel safe, so we were afraid of all those who were our friends before we were arrested. When I escaping I saw my friend, Marlon Anipa, I run away so that he'll not see me. Those were really dangerous times.

[To understand the situation, read Ghana Under Rawlings Early Years by Emmanuel Hansen. You can read this if you join the Facebook group with the title of the book which is the title of the book and has the contents of the book in there]

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Like Comment Share

Isaac Winful Dadzie, Bagura Asigri, Stephen Glala and 43 others like this.

12 shares

Comments

Parma Naidoo Our Beloved Comrade
Serving , Suffering, Sacrificing,

Like · Reply · 2 · 8 December at 17:41

Explo Nani-Kofi Yes, I'll not give up, but 6 years of being in Ghana has taught me to be extremely cautious on my modus operandi in re-integrating in the movement back home.

Like · Reply · 4 · 8 December at 17:48

Explo Nani-Kofi Thanks for encouragement, Garcon D'etoile. Amma Fosuah Poku. Krystine 'Bora Bora' Asker. Parma Naidoo.

Like · Reply · 11 December at 18:10 · Edited

Write a reply...

Explo Nani-Kofi Welcome here, Hotep Abeku Adams Bagura Asigri Parma Naidoo Wak Stephen Levy. Daniel Jerry Kaklaku-Dodou TaRue WatsonHarry V Kendall Baba Abraham Kankani Gordon Donkor Nana AsanteStephen Glala Justipher Addae Mensa Atta-kojo Mensa-malon Atta-AidooGarçon D'étoile Nana Amofah DaaviA Daavi A Jimmy Lewis HENRY Mensah. Kwaku Krabea Asante. Andrew Williams Jr Johngershon AgbozoKofi Eli Normanyo Romeo Adzah Dowokpor Maw Lee Kwasi Michael. Kwasi Hamza M O Egal Douglas Wagba Sanni Mahama. Zaya Yeebo Aidan Augustus Daly Maame Esi Fosuaa Forson. Isaac Winful Dadzie. Addo Darko Ghansah. Roger Gbedawo. Luvo Selani. Kofi Bannie. Bright Kwami Kpendo. Ras KhoiSan. Justice Mante. John Daniels. Victor Bosie-boateng. Fo Koku Akposoe. Mawuli Kwesi Aboagye. Marlon Anipa. Opanin Kwabena Antwi Sarpong. Arun Bundu. Pascal Woekessou. Eric Tettey. Martino Kashif. Nathan Atta-Aidoo. Abaare Cletus. Brandford Kwashie Tay.PagabukAmandla AmandlaGaapp Ena Blege Dan Anatsui.

Like · Reply · 3 · 12 December at 20:45 · Edited

Garçon D'étoile Thanks Sir!.. I was really touched after reading your post, I wasn't sure of what exactly to say; though I had something on my mind to say....The flickers of your flames will never die Sir!!!!!

Like · Reply · 1 · 8 December at 18:36

Explo Nani-Kofi Thanks.

Like · Reply · 8 December at 19:10

Write a reply...

Daniel Jerry Kaklaku-Dodou Long live #EXPLO NANI KOFI

Like · Reply · 1 · 8 December at 17:55

Explo Nani-Kofi May the Almighty make that possible.

Like · Reply · 8 December at 17:59

Daniel Jerry Kaklaku-Dodou It's already possible since he knows what you stand for is justice

Like · Reply · 2 · 8 December at 18:56

Explo Nani-Kofi Daniel Jerry Kaklaku-Dodou , I wish it was not so difficult for anybody to know where I stand and know that I am not mad.

Like · Reply · 8 December at 19:18

Write a reply...

Baba Abraham Kankani EXPLO REMEMBER WHO JAH BLESS NO ONE CAN CURSE. THAT U ARE LIVING FOR A REASON AND ACCORDING TO GODS PLAN. DO NOT RUSH.....READ PSAMS 91 AND 23.U WILL LAUGH LAST.

Like · Reply · 2 · 8 December at 21:58 · Edited

Explo Nani-Kofi Thank you that you were not selfish and that despite your safe escape you, your wife Mary Ayambilla and your son Mawuko Gidiglo did everything to network with Umaru Pharouk Halid and others to make possible the 19 June 1983 Detention Escape and Uprising which enabled my freedom.

Like · Reply · 1 · 8 December at 18:07

Write a reply...

Gordon Donkor Sir, I have been reading your posts and any time I do. I am kind of confused as to where exactly you belong to in Ghana politics. But I'll be glad if I meet you personally one day.

Like · Reply · 8 December at 18:03

Explo Nani-Kofi I belong to those who stand for African self-determination and opposed to external dictates of IMF/World Bank and against all external military intervention like AFRICOM. I don't belong to any of the registered political parties in Ghana. Most of my ad...See More

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COUNTERFIRE.ORG

Like · Reply · 2 · 8 December at 19:05 · Edited

Gordon Donkor Thank you so much sir. Please if there's anything you can do to change the polluted mentality of Ghanaian youth of today, please I'm ever ready to offer any help you will ask me to. As a teacher and a Journalist, my observation about most of the youth in Ghana today have been politically polluted so much that, there isn't a bit of nationalism left in them. I can confidently say that, the future of our country is very gloomy and the earlier something is done about it, the better. This country needs a turning point in order to preserve it for our unborn children. Instilling nationalism in young children is the only way forward now.

Like · Reply · 1 · 8 December at 18:31

Explo Nani-Kofi Gordon Donkor , this is why I am setting up the Kilombo Centre for Civil Society and African Self-Determination. Let us continue discussion in box off the thread.

Like · Reply · 8 December at 18:46

Gordon Donkor Very well sir.

Like · Reply · 8 December at 18:50

Augustine Agbenaza Thanks for your sacrifice and that of all the others. Without your sacrifice Ghsna would have become another green book country in the teachings of Gaddafi and perhaps JJ would have become the Emperor for life.

Like · Reply · 9 December at 00:06 · Edited

Write a reply...

Justipher Addae Mensa So Kwame died? Wow so many lost their lives under one man

Like · Reply · 8 December at 18:17

Explo Nani-Kofi Yes, my brother, maternal cousin, comrade and friend, Kwame Adjimah was murdered on 21st June 1983.

Like · Reply · 1 · 8 December at 18:23

Justipher Addae Mensa ok for the 4th time I'm forgiving some1 here on fb for calling me bro Explo Nani-Kofi I'm a girl yeah

Like · Reply · 8 December at 18:36

Explo Nani-Kofi I mean my brother etc Kwame Ajimah and not you. Sorry that despite punctuation it didn't come out clear. It is Kwame Adjimah who is my brother but not you.

Like · Reply · 1 · 8 December at 19:07

Justipher Addae Mensa Sorry my bad

Like · Reply · 8 December at 19:11

Explo Nani-Kofi No problem, my sister.

Like · Reply · 1 · 8 December at 19:16

Write a reply...

Daavi A Jimmy Hmmmm u are really a strong man. I read abt it but never knew someone am close with went through this.

Like · Reply · 8 December at 18:21

Explo Nani-Kofi It is interesting and entertaining when Ibsee people treated to gossip and propaganda claiming to be in politics under the criminal gangsterism called the Fourth Republic of Ghana.

Like · Reply · 1 · 8 December at 18:34

Write a reply...

Atta-kojo Mensa-malon Atta-Aidoo I'm waiting for a book from you #Explo

Like · Reply · 8 December at 18:31

Explo Nani-Kofi Thank you. I want to shake of a bit of health problem and have a free mind to work on something.

Like · Reply · 1 · 8 December at 18:36

Write a reply...

Gordon Donkor Thanks sir

Like · Reply · 8 December at 18:39

Sanni Mahama Sorry for that comrade

Like · Reply · 1 · 8 December at 18:48

Zaya Yeebo Your posts always bring back memories of a time.

Like · Reply · 8 December at 19:28

Explo Nani-Kofi Would you also have knelt down that day if Rawlings and his battalion had met you in the house? Even executioner, George Agyekum, was on his knees and got up to go and sentence some more people.

Like · Reply · 1 · 8 December at 19:36

Write a reply...

Hamza M O Egal Your story resonates across all African boarders and generations who have seen the hate and the blessings of our beautiful continent. You are an inspiration keep working my good sir

Like · Reply · 1 · 8 December at 19:36

Explo Nani-Kofi The situation in every African country is varying intensities of the proxy war situation born by the Berlin Conference and so epitomises the general situation. This is why Pan-Africanism is the only way forward.

Like · Reply · 2 · 8 December at 19:42

Hamza M O Egal Agreed Explo Nani-Kofi

Like · Reply · 1 · 8 December at 19:43

Write a reply...

Ras KhoiSan Wow - thanks for sharing - Jah bless * Jah guide (Emmanuel C. Edwards)

Like · Reply · 1 · 8 December at 20:57

Amma Fosuah Poku Link to "Ghana Under Rawlings: Early Years"

https://www.facebook.com/groups/374911112611358/?fref=ts

Ghana Under Rawlings Early Years by Emmanuel Hansen

Joined

Public Group

157 Members

Like · Reply · 2 · 8 December at 22:04

Marlon Anipa What will I have done if I saw Explo? Report him?:shoot him dead; turn a blind eye or help him escape?

Like · Reply · 8 December at 23:25

Explo Nani-Kofi At least, I avoided giving you and your conscience that burden. People involved in the arrest of Kwame Adjimah to send him to his grave are not able to see my face and admit their role. Those when people didn't know we'll ever be free and back in the community again, it was normal to arrest and kill us. Even when I met Sabadu in Kpedze at a funeral, me had to pretend that he is against Rawlings, when Volta region is the world bank of his party. Marlon, did you ever imagine that you'll be one day in NPP and will be aiming to succeed S. G. Ant or as MP? Nobody knows tomorrow. Good we have lived a bit longer for everybody to demonstrate where they stand.

Like · Reply · 9 December at 05:29

Write a reply...

Jah Bob so it was RAWLINGS? names could be and are used because it wields a lot of power? mahama,s name is use for a lot of things he is not even aware of. just a brain wave. and sorry for those hard times. i can only try to put myself in the situation.

Like · Reply · 1 · 8 December at 23:48

Explo Nani-Kofi Rawlings' name was not merely used. I was a regional coordinator in the regime based in the government residency with two military assistants assigned by the Ghana Army. Rawlings made others and myself to kneel at gun point in the residence of his own minister of youth and sports merely because we were opposed to the IMF and World Bank coming to dictate to us. We were armed less civilians.

Like · Reply · 9 December at 05:18

Jah Bob I am now getting the whole picture, Explo. so your brother passed at the hands of a person some thought to be the saviour at the time? and you have to run away from your own motherland just because you were in opposition to the blooclaat imf. imf and the worl' back brought ghana's downfall and is still dictacting the pace of ghana's development. LET US STARVE THE BEAST.

Like · Reply · 9 December at 07:57

Write a reply...

Charity Dzide God have mercy!!!! Ooo Kwame may his soul rest in peace. A cousin we lost painfully. Thanks for down the memory lane.

Like · Reply · 1 · 9 December at 05:23

Explo Nani-Kofi And those days, you people couldn't more him properly. His father couldn't take it and died of heart attack. Our relatives never feel our pain just as I narrated about the death of Kwesi Turkson. Kwame's relatives

don't want to talk about his death because they support the criminal gangsterist NDC. Are we human at all. Sometimes, I look at my relatives and wonder whether I should consider them as relatives if they supported my death when I committed no crime. One a cousin, a daughter of my uncle, who believes that everybody against Rawlings is a thief, ended rubbing it in, by telling me that only I know whether Inam a thief or not, at a time when we were at the hospital to receive the corpse of my dead brother. We are just inhuman, my sister.

Like · Reply · 9 December at 05:41

Charity Dzide My brother it very sad oo. Another cousin a lady is a die hard supporter. Stomach politics. It is a A SHAME

Like · Reply · 9 December at 07:59

Write a reply...

John Daniels EXPLO NANI KOFI Is his name. That is why I will always be where he is.. Such people don't appear in society very often.

Like · Reply · 1 · 9 December at 08:02

John Daniels EXPLO NANI KOFI is his name. That is why I will always be where he is. Such people don't come to the society very often.

Like · Reply · 1 · 9 December at 08:07

Ransford Fiti "Sgt Agoha"

Like · Reply · 1 · 9 December at 08:33

Explo Nani-Kofi Yes Sgt Agoha

Like · Reply · 2 · 9 December at 13:00

Write a reply...

Aidan Augustus Daly vital reading Paddy O' Byrne

Like · Reply · 1 · 10 December at 12:27

Koku Mensa Akar Hard times indeed!

Like · Reply · 1 · 11 December at 18:32

Explo Nani-Kofi Hard times, my elder brother Koku Mensa Akar.

Like · Reply · 11 December at 18:40

Write a reply...

Newton Isaac Amengor Explo, congrats you are still alive to share this set or chain of ordeals with us.

Like · Reply · 13 December at 12:23

Explo Nani-Kofi Newton Isaac Amengor, please let me have your phone number in box. I always remember you from the one year I studied in the elementary school in Peki and specifically the Speech and Price Giving Day with Hon. T. K. Agadzi as guest speaker. I met Dzandza too at an event I chaired in Dzake E.P. Church before traveling.

Like · Reply · 13 December at 12:33

Newton Isaac Amengor 0243881952, 0201402111

Like · Reply · 13 December at 12:49

Newton Isaac Amengor Good afternoon, Explo

Like · Reply · 13 December at 12:50

Explo Nani-Kofi Newton Isaac Amengor , good afternoon. I'll link up by phone.

Like · Reply · 13 December at 12:55

Newton Isaac Amengor Waiting for your call.

Like · Reply · 4 hrs

Write a reply...

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